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* * * * *Table of Contents* * * * *

Vol. LXIII, No. 2

January, 1958

Presidential Address

THE NEXT ASSIGNMENT, by William L. Langer	283
---	-----

Articles

SOME ASPECTS OF WHIG THOUGHT AND THEORY IN THE JACKSONIAN PERIOD, by Glyndon G. Van Deusen	305
TORY PATERNALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM IN EARLY VICTORIAN ENGLAND, by David Roberts	323

Notes and Suggestions

WORKING-CLASS POLITICS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE, by Val R. Lorwin	338
ENGLISH NONCONFORMITY AND THE DECLINE OF LIBERALISM, by John F. Glaser	352

Reviews of Books

General History

Crouzet, L'ÉPOQUE CONTEMPORAINE, by John C. Cairns	364
Frazier, RACE AND CULTURE CONTACTS IN THE MODERN WORLD, by Arthur Mann	366
Friedrich and Brzezinski, TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND AUTOCRACY, by Carl E. Schorske	367
Huntington, THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE, by Gordon A. Craig	368
Koyré, FROM THE CLOSED WORLD TO THE INFINITE UNIVERSE, by Lynn Thorndike	370
Boas, DOMINANT THEMES OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY, by John Herman Randall, Jr.	371
Campbell, ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING, 1898-1903, by Richard H. Heindel	372
Feis, CHURCHILL, ROOSEVELT, STALIN, by Dexter Perkins	373
Deutsch, <i>et al.</i> , POLITICAL COMMUNITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA, by Jacques Godechot	375

Ancient and Medieval History

Polanyi, Arensberg, and Pearson, eds., TRADE AND MARKET IN THE EARLY EMPIRES, by Donald Dewey	376
Jones, THE LAW AND LEGAL THEORY OF THE GREEKS, by W. Kendrick Pritchett	378
Levy, WESTRÖMISCHES VULGARRECHT, by Floyd Seyward Lear	379
Adcock, <i>et al.</i> , RÖMISCHES WELTREICH UND CHRISTENTUM, by T. Robert S. Broughton	380
Schnürer, CHURCH AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, Vol. I, by Sidney R. Packard	382
Waas, GESCHICHTE DER KREUZZÜGE, Bands I and II, by A. C. Krey	383
Barrow, FEUDAL BRITAIN, by Sidney Painter	384
Kosminsky, STUDIES IN THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY, by Robert S. Hoyt	385
Holmes, THE ESTATES OF THE HIGHER NOBILITY IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND, by William H. Dunham, Jr.	387
de Bouard, <i>et al.</i> , HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS FRANÇAISES AU MOYEN AGE, Tome I, by Joseph R. Strayer	388

Modern European History

Schick, UN GRAND HOMME D'AFFAIRES AU DÉBUT DU XVI ^e SIÈCLE, by William F. Church	389
Lösch, DÖLLINGER UND FRANKREICH, by Stephen J. Tonsor	391

Table of Contents—Continued

iii

Bayer, ENGLAND UND DER NEUE KURS, 1890-1895, and <i>Maetzke</i> , DIE DEUTSCH-SCHWEIZERISCHE PRESSE ZU EINIGEN PROBLEMEN DES ZWEITEN WELT-KRIEGES, by William M. Franklin	392
Dodd, THE GROWTH OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FROM JAMES THE FIRST TO VICTORIA, by Robert Walcott	393
Cragg, PURITANISM IN THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT PERSECUTION, 1660-1688, by Perry Miller	394
Baxter, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREASURY, 1660-1702, by Dora Mae Clark	395
Notestein, FOUR WORTHIES, by J. H. Hexter	396
Cranston, JOHN LOCKE, by Perez Zagorin	398
White, WATERLOO TO PETERLOO, by John Clive	400
Altick, THE ENGLISH COMMON READER, by Louis B. Wright	401
Edwards and Williams, eds., THE GREAT FAMINE, by Helen F. Mulvey	402
Woodward and Butler, eds., DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939, Second Series, V, by Bernadotte E. Schmitt	404
Butler and Ehrman, GRAND STRATEGY, Vols. II and VI, by Forrest C. Pogue	405
Knaplund, BRITAIN, COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE, 1901-1955, by H. Duncan Hall	407
Burns, IN DEFENCE OF COLONIES, by Paul Knaplund	408
Biro, THE GERMAN POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE, Vols. I and II, by Richard M. Brace	409
Droz, LES RÉVOLUTIONS ALLEMANDES DE 1848, by Theodore S. Hamerow	411
Rath, THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION OF 1848, by Howard McGaw Smyth	413
Gordon, THE REICHSWEHR AND THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, 1919-1926, by Gerhard L. Weinberg	414
Verney, PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN SWEDEN, 1866-1921, by Franklin D. Scott	415
Kieniewicz, RUCH CHŁOPI W GALICJI W 1846 ROKU, and MATERIAŁY DO DZIEJÓW CHŁOPA WIELKOPÓLSKIEGO W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE XVIII WIEKU, Vols. I and II, by Piotr S. Wandycz	416
Lipiński, STUDIA NAD HISTORIA POLSKIEJ MYŚLI EKONOMICZNEJ, by J. Taylor	418
Black, ed., REWRITING RUSSIAN HISTORY, by Michael Karpovich	419
Scheibert, VON BAKUNIN ZU LENIN, Vol. I, by Frederick C. Barghoorn	420
Hammond, LENIN ON TRADE UNIONS AND REVOLUTION, 1893-1917, by Leopold H. Haimson	421

Far Eastern History

Kennedy, A HISTORY OF COMMUNISM IN EAST ASIA, by Claude A. Buss	422
Vandenbosch and Butwell, SOUTHEAST ASIA AMONG THE WORLD POWERS, by John F. Cady	423
Wright, THE LAST STAND OF CHINESE CONSERVATISM, by Richard L. Walker	425
Menon, THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA, by D. Mackenzie Brown	426
Ikram and Spear, eds., THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN, and Jennings, CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN, by W. Norman Brown	427

American History

Gladwin, A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT SOUTHWEST, by George P. Hammond	429
Wesley, NEA, by William H. Cartwright	431
Boyd, ed., THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, Vol. XIII, by Adrienne Koch	432
Morris, ed., ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NATION, and Mitchell, ALEXANDER HAMILTON, YOUTH TO MATURITY, 1755-1788, by Merrill Jensen	433
Walters, ALBERT GALLATIN, by Bray Hammond	436
Levy, THE LAW OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND CHIEF JUSTICE SHAW, by John T. Horton	437
Smith, REVIVALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA, by Alice Felt Tyler	438
Riddle, CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN, by Holman Hamilton	440
Vandiver, MIGHTY STONEWALL: <i>Cockrell</i> , ed., GUNNER WITH STONEWALL; <i>Athearn</i> , ed., SOLDIER IN THE WEST; <i>Roske</i> and <i>Van Doren</i> , LINCOLN'S COMMANDO, by Hal Bridges	441
Grodinsky, JAY GOULD, by Joe B. Frantz	443
Hutchinson, LOWDEN OF ILLINOIS, Vols. I and II, by John D. Hicks	444
Shryock, NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, 1904-1954, by James Harvey Young	445

<i>Barber and Stebbins</i> , THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1955, 1956; and <i>Zinner</i> , ed., DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1955, 1956, by Julius W. Pratt	446
---	-----

Latin American History

<i>Boxer</i> , THE DUTCH IN BRAZIL, 1624-1654, by Emilio Willems	448
<i>Fluharty</i> , DANCE OF THE MILLIONS, by J. Fred Rippy	450

Other Recent Publications

General History	452
Ancient History	459
Medieval History	465
Modern European History	469
Near Eastern History	507
Far Eastern History	508
United States History	510
Latin American History	536
Other Books Received	540

Historical News

Historical News	548
---------------------------	-----

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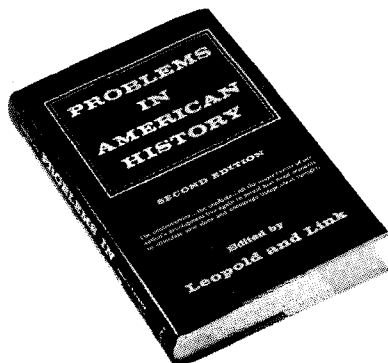
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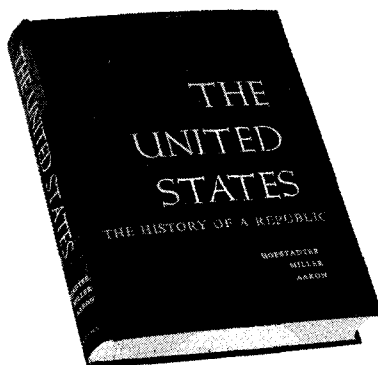
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The Next Assignment*

WILLIAM L. LANGER

ANYONE who, like myself, has the honor to serve as president of this association and to address it on the occasion of its annual meeting may be presumed to have devoted many years to the historical profession, to have taught many successive college generations, to have trained numerous young scholars, and to have written at least some books and articles. The chances are great that he has reached those exalted levels of the academic life which involve so many administrative and advisory duties, as well as such expenditure of time and energy in seeing people, in writing recommendations, and in reading the writings of others that he is most unlikely ever again to have much time to pursue his own researches. Nonetheless, his long and varied experience and his ever broadening contacts with others working in many diverse fields have probably sharpened his understanding of the problems of

* Presidential address delivered at the annual dinner of the American Historical Association, the Statler Hotel, New York City, December 29, 1957. I have benefited greatly from long discussions of this problem with my brother, Dr. Walter C. Langer. I have also to thank Professors Talcott Parsons and Raymond A. Bauer, for stimulating comments on an early draft of the address, and Professors James C. Diggory and A. Pepitone, of the University of Pennsylvania, for allowing me to read their unpublished report on "Behavior and Disaster."

his own profession and enhanced his awareness of the many lacunae in our knowledge of the world and of mankind, both in the past and in the present. It would seem altogether fitting, therefore, that I, for one, should make use of this occasion not so much for reflection on the past achievements of the profession (which is what might be expected of a historian), as for speculation about its needs and its future—that is, about the directions which historical study might profitably take in the years to come.

I am sure to sense, at this juncture, a certain uneasiness in my audience, for historians, having dedicated their lives to the exploration and understanding of the past, are apt to be suspicious of novelty and ill-disposed toward crystal-gazing. In the words of my distinguished predecessor, they lack the “speculative audacity” of the natural scientists, those artisans of brave hypotheses. This tendency on the part of historians to become buried in their own conservatism strikes me as truly regrettable. What basically may be a virtue tends to become a vice, locking our intellectual faculties in the molds of the past and preventing us from opening new horizons as our cousins in the natural sciences are constantly doing. If progress is to be made we must certainly have new ideas, new points of view, and new techniques. We must be ready, from time to time, to take flyers into the unknown, even though some of them may prove wide of the mark. Like the scientists, we can learn a lot from our own mistakes, and the chances are that, if we persist, each successive attempt may take us closer to the target. I should therefore like to ask myself this evening what direction is apt to lead to further progress in historical study; what direction, if I were a younger man, would claim my interest and attention; in short, what might be the historian’s “next assignment.”

We are all keenly aware of the fact that during the past half century the scope of historical study has been vastly extended. The traditional political-military history has become more comprehensive and more analytical and has been reinforced by researches into the social, economic, intellectual, scientific, and other aspects of the past, some of them truly remote from what used to be considered history. So far has this development gone that I find it difficult to envisage much further horizontal expansion of the area of investigation.

There is, however, still ample scope for penetration in depth and I, personally, have no doubt that the “newest history” will be more intensive and probably less extensive. I refer more specifically to the urgently needed deepening of our historical understanding through exploitation of the concepts and findings of modern psychology. And by this, may I add, I do not refer to classical or academic psychology which, so far as I can detect, has little bearing on historical problems, but rather to psychoanalysis and its later de-

velopments and variations as included in the terms "dynamic" or "depth psychology."

In the course of my reading over the years I have been much impressed by the prodigious impact of psychoanalytic doctrine on many, not to say most, fields of human study and expression. Of Freud himself it has been said that "he has in large part created the intellectual climate of our time."¹ "Almost alone," remarks a recent writer in the *Times Literary Supplement*, "he revealed the deepest sources of human endeavor and remorselessly pursued their implications for the individual and society."² Once the initial resistance to the recognition of unconscious, irrational forces in human nature was overcome, psychoanalysis quickly became a dominant influence in psychiatry, in abnormal psychology, and in personality study. The field of medicine is feeling its impact not only in the area of psychosomatic illness, but in the understanding of the doctor-patient relationship. Our whole educational system and the methods of child-training have been modified in the light of its findings. For anthropology it has opened new and wider vistas by providing for the first time "a theory of raw human nature" and by suggesting an explanation of otherwise incomprehensible cultural traits and practices. It has done much also to revise established notions about religion and has given a great impetus to pastoral care and social work. The problems of mythology and sociology have been illuminated by its insights, and more recently its influence has been strongly felt in penology, in political science, and even in economics, while in the arts almost every major figure of the past generation has been in some measure affected by it.³

¹ "Freud and the Arts," London *Times Literary Supplement*, May 4, 1956.

² *Ibid.* See also Abram Kardiner, *The Psychological Frontiers of Society* (New York, 1945), p. 11; Goodwin Watson, "Clio and Psyche: Some Interrelations of Psychology and History," in *The Cultural Approach to History*, ed. Caroline Ware (New York, 1940), pp. 34-47; Hans W. Gruhle, *Geschichtsschreibung und Psychologie* (Bonn, 1953), p. 7; *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*, Social Science Research Council Bull. No. 64 (New York, 1954), pp. 61 ff.

³ See the article by Henry W. Brosin, "A Review of the Influence of Psychoanalysis on Current Thought," in *Dynamic Psychiatry*, ed. Franz Alexander and Helen Ross (Chicago, 1952), pp. 508-53; Ernest Jones, *What Is Psychoanalysis?* (new ed., New York, 1948), pp. 80 ff.; Iago Galdston, ed., *Freud and Contemporary Culture* (New York, 1957). See also J. A. Gengerelli, "Dogma or Discipline?" *Saturday Review*, Mar. 23, 1957; Gardner Murphy, "The Current Impact of Freud upon Psychology," *Amer. Psychologist*, XI (1956), 663-72; A. Irving Hallowell, "Culture, Personality and Society," in *Anthropology Today*, A. L. Kroeber (Chicago, 1953), pp. 597-620; Clyde Kluckhohn, "The Influence of Psychiatry on Anthropology in America during the Past One Hundred Years," in *One Hundred Years of American Psychiatry*, ed. J. K. Hall (New York, 1944), pp. 589-618 and "Politics, History and Psychology," *World Politics*, VIII (1955), 112-23; Harold D. Lasswell, "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking on the Social Sciences," in *The State of the Social Sciences*, ed. Leonard D. White (Chicago, 1956), pp. 84-115; R. Money-Kyrle, *Superstition and Society* (London, 1939); Walter A. Weisskopf, *The Psychology of Economics* (Chicago, 1955); Erich Fromm, *Psychoanalysis and Religion* (New Haven, 1950); F. J. Hoffman, *Freudianism and the Literary Mind* (Baton Rouge, 1945); Louis Schneider, *The Psychoanalysis and the Artist* (New York, 1950).

Despite this general and often profound intellectual and artistic reorientation since Freud published his first epoch-making works sixty years ago, historians have, as a group, maintained an almost completely negative attitude toward the teachings of psychoanalysis. Their lack of response has been due, I should think, less to constitutional obscurantism than to the fact that historians, as disciples of Thucydides, have habitually thought of themselves as psychologists in their own right. They have indulged freely in psychological interpretation, and many no doubt have shared the fear that the humanistic appreciation of personality, as in poetry or drama, might be irretrievably lost through the application of a coldly penetrating calculus.⁴ Many considered the whole psychoanalytic doctrine too biological and too deterministic, as well as too conjectural, and they were, furthermore, reluctant to recognize and deal with unconscious motives and irrational forces. Psychoanalysis, on the other hand, was still a young science and therefore lacked the prestige to make historians acquire a guilt-complex about not being more fully initiated into its mysteries.⁵ Almost without exception, then, they have stuck to the approach and methods of historicism, restricting themselves to recorded fact and to strictly rational motivation.⁶ So impervious was the profession as a whole to the new teaching that an inquiry into the influence of psychoanalysis on modern thought, written a few years ago, made no mention whatever of history.⁷

This is as remarkable as it is lamentable, for, on the very face of it, psychoanalysis would seem to have much to contribute to the solution of historical problems. Many years of clinical work by hundreds of trained analysts have by now fortified and refined Freud's original theory of human drives, the conflicts to which they give rise, and the methods by which they are repressed or diverted. Psychoanalysis has long since ceased being merely a therapy and has been generally recognized as a theory basic to the study of the human personality. How can it be that the historian, who must be as much or more concerned with human beings and their motivation than with impersonal forces and causation, has failed to make use of these findings? Viewed in the

⁴ Raymond B. Cattell, *An Introduction to Personality Study* (London, 1950), pp. 13-14. H. D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (Chicago, 1930), p. 11, refers to "the obscurantist revulsion against submitting the sacred mystery of personality to the coarse indignity of exact investigation." Keats is said to have feared that spectrum analysis would ruin his enjoyment of the rainbow. See Jones, *What is Psychoanalysis?* pp. 12 ff.

⁵ Sidney Ratner, "The Historian's Approach to Psychology," *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, II (1941), 95-109.

⁶ Edward N. Saveth, "The Historian and the Freudian Approach to History," *New York Times Book Review*, Jan. 1, 1956; Gruhle, *Geschichtsschreibung und Psychologie*, pp. 116 ff.; Richard L. Schoenwald, "Historians and the Challenge of Freud," *Western Humanities Rev.*, X (1956), 99-108.

⁷ Brosin, "Review of Influence of Psychoanalysis on Current Thought."

light of modern depth psychology, the homespun, common-sense psychological interpretations of past historians, even some of the greatest, seem woefully inadequate, not to say naïve.⁸ Clearly the time has come for us to reckon with a doctrine that strikes so close to the heart of our own discipline.⁹

Since psychoanalysis is concerned primarily with the emotional life of the individual, its most immediate application is in the field of biography. Freud himself here showed the way, first in his essay on Leonardo da Vinci (1910) and later in his analytical study of Dostoevsky (1928). He was initially impressed by the similarity between some of the material produced by a patient in analysis and the only recorded childhood recollection of the Italian artist. With this fragmentary memory as a starting point, Freud studied the writings and artistic productions of Leonardo and demonstrated how much light could be shed on his creative and scientific life through the methods of analysis. No doubt he erred with respect to certain points of art history. Quite possibly some of his deductions were unnecessarily involved or farfetched. Nonetheless, recent critics have testified that he was able, "thanks to his theory and method, and perhaps even more to his deep sympathy for the tragic and the problematic in Leonardo, to pose altogether new and important questions about his personality, questions which were unsuspected by earlier writers and to which no better answer than Freud's has yet been given."¹⁰

The striking novelty and the startling conclusions of Freud's essay on Leonardo had much to do with precipitating the flood of psychoanalytic or, better, pseudo-psychoanalytic biographical writing during the 1920's. Almost all of this was of such a low order—ill-informed, sensational, scandalizing—that it brought the entire Freudian approach into disrepute. I have no doubt that this, in turn, discouraged serious scholars—the historians among them—from really examining the possibilities of the new teachings. Only within the last generation has the situation begun to change. The basic concepts of psychoanalysis, such as the processes of repression, identification, projection,

⁸ Gruhle *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff., cites a number of instances from the writings of eminent German historians, and Max Horkheimer, "Geschichte und Psychologie," *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*, I (1932), 125-44, argues the complete inadequacy of the psychological concepts of the classical economists. Alfred M. Tozzer, "Biography and Biology," in *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, ed. Clyde Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray (2d ed., New York, 1953), pp. 226-39, plays havoc with the simple-minded biological twist in much biographical writing.

⁹ This thought is more or less explicitly expressed by Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and the Historical Document," in *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology*, Social Science Research Council Bull. No. 53 (New York, 1945), and in *The Social Sciences in Historical Study*. See also Sir Lewis Namier, "Human Nature in Politics," in his *Personalities and Powers* (London, 1955); Schoenwald, "Historians and the Challenge of Freud."

¹⁰ Meyer Shapiro, "Leonardo and Freud: An Art-Historical Study," *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, XVII (1956), 147-78, and other critics there cited.

reaction formation, substitution, displacement, and sublimation, have become more firmly established through clinical work and have at the same time increasingly become part of our thinking. Meanwhile, concerted efforts have been made to build up systematic personality and character study on a psychoanalytic basis and the so-called neo-Freudians, advancing beyond the narrowly environmental factors, have done much to develop the significance of constitutional and cultural influences.¹¹

While recognized scholars in related fields, notably in political science, have begun to apply psychoanalytic principles to the study of personality types and their social role, historians have for the most part approved of the iron curtain between their own profession and that of the dynamic psychologists. It is, indeed, still professionally dangerous to admit any addiction to such unorthodox doctrine.¹² Even those who are in general intrigued by the potentialities of psychoanalysis are inclined to argue against its application to historical problems. They point out that evidence on the crucial early years of an individual's life is rarely available and that, unlike the practicing analyst, the historian cannot turn to his subject and help him revive memories of specific events and relationships. To this it may be answered that the historian, on whatever basis he is operating, is always suffering from lack of data. Actually there is often considerable information about the family background of prominent historical personalities and the sum total of evidence about their careers is in some cases enormous. Furthermore, the experiences of earliest childhood are no longer rated as important for later development as was once the case, and the historian, if he cannot deal with his subject as man to man, at least has the advantage of surveying his whole career and being able to observe the functioning of significant forces.¹³ In any event we historians must, if we are to retain our self-respect, believe that we can do better with the available evidence than the untrained popular biographer to whom we have so largely abandoned the field.

¹¹ Fromm, "Die psychoanalytische Charakterologie und ihre Bedeutung für die Sozialpsychologie," *Zeits. f. Sozialforschung*, I (1932), 253-77, and *Psychology and Religion*, pp. 10 ff.; Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York, 1937), chap. 1; Franz Alexander, *Fundamentals of Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1948), chap. vi; Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Development of Personality* (New York, 1945); Kardiner, *Psychological Frontiers of Society*, esp. chap. xiv; Gerald S. Blum, *Psychoanalytic Theories of Personality* (New York, 1953); Gordon W. Allport, *Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality* (New Haven, 1955); Georges Friedmann, "Psychoanalysis and Sociology," *Diogenes*, No. 14 (1956), 17-35.

¹² Bernard Brodie, in his review of the excellent study of *Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House* (New York, 1957) by Alexander and Juliette George, notes that the authors, while using very effectively the concepts of psychoanalysis, are scrupulous not to mention the fact. "A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Woodrow Wilson," *World Politics*, IX (1957), 413-22.

¹³ Gruhle, *Geschichtsschreibung und Psychologie*, pp. 127 ff.

The historian is, of course, less interested in the individual as such than in the impact of certain individuals upon the society of their time and, beyond that, in the behavior of men as members of the group, society, or culture. This leads us into the domain of social or collective psychology, a subject on which much has been written during the past twenty-five years, especially in this country, but in which progress continues to be slight because of the difficulty of distinguishing satisfactorily between large groups and small groups, between organized and unorganized aggregations, between such vague collectivities as the crowd, the mob, and the mass.¹⁴ Much certainly remains to be done in this area, especially in the elaboration of a theory to bridge the gap between individual and collective psychology.

Freud himself became convinced, at an early date, that his theories might have a certain applicability to historical and cultural problems.¹⁵ He accepted the conclusions of Gustave Le Bon's well-known study of the psychology of crowds (1895) and recognized that a group may develop "a sort of collective mind."¹⁶ As the years went by, his clinical work led him to the conclusion that there were close parallels between the development of the individual and of the race. Thus, the individual's unconscious mind was, in a sense, the repository of the past experiences of his society, if not of mankind.¹⁷ In his most daring and provocative works, *Totem and Taboo* (1913) and his last book, *Moses and Monotheism* (1939), Freud tried to determine the effect of group experience on the formation of a collective group mind.

Anthropologists, like historians, will probably continue to reject Freud's historical ventures as too extravagantly speculative, but the fact remains that anthropological and sociological researches suggest ever more definitely that certain basic drives and impulses, as identified by Freud, appear in all cultures and that the differences between cultures derive largely from varying methods of dealing with these drives.¹⁸ Furthermore, social psychologists are increasingly aware of the similarity in the operation of irrational forces in the individual and in society.¹⁹ Everett D. Martin, an early but unusually discerning student of the subject, noted in 1920 that the crowd, like our dream life,

¹⁴ Gustave Le Bon, *La psychologie des foules* was published in 1895. The earliest texts, those of William McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, and of Edward A. Ross, *Social Psychology*, were first published in 1908. See M. Brewster Smith, "Some Recent Texts in Social Psychology," *Psychological Bull.*, L (1953), 150-59.

¹⁵ Freud's letter to C. G. Jung, July 5, 1910, quoted in Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, II (New York, 1955), 448-49.

¹⁶ Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (New York, 1921).

¹⁷ Jones, *What is Psychoanalysis?* pp. 20 ff.

¹⁸ Geza Roheim, *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology* (New York, 1950).

¹⁹ Kluckhohn, "The Impact of Freud on Anthropology," in *Freud and Contemporary Culture*, pp. 66-72.

provides an outlet for repressed emotions: "It is as if all at once an unspoken agreement were entered into whereby each member might let himself go, on condition that he approved the same thing in all the rest." A crowd, according to Martin, "is a device for indulging ourselves in a kind of temporary insanity by all going crazy together."²⁰ Similarly, Freud's erstwhile disciple, C. G. Jung, has characterized recent political mass movements as "psychic epidemics, i.e. mass psychoses," and others have noted that the fears and rages of mass movements are clearly the residue of childish emotions.²¹

All this, as aforesaid, still requires further exploration. It does seem, however, that we shall have to learn to reckon with the concept of "collective mentality," even on the unconscious level, and that the traits of that mentality—normally submerged and operative only in association with others or in specific settings—can best be studied as a part of, or extension of, individual psychology. That is to say that progress in social psychology probably depends on ever more highly refined analysis of the individual—his basic motivations, his attitudes, beliefs, hopes, fears, and aspirations.²²

Perhaps I may digress at this point to remind you of Georges Lefebvre's long-standing interest and concern with the character and role of mobs and crowds in the French Revolution, and especially of his impressive study of the mass hysteria of 1789 known as "The Great Fear." Although Lefebvre thought Le Bon superficial and confused, he was convinced by his own researches that there was such a thing as a "collective mentality." Indeed, he considered it the true causal link between the origins and the effects of major crises.²³ Without specific reference to psychoanalytic concepts, Lefebvre arrived at conclusions altogether consonant with those of modern psychology. His truly impressive studies in a sense prefaced the more recent analyses of totalitarian movements which, in my estimation, have so clearly demonstrated the vast possibilities that have been opened to social scientists by the findings of dynamic psychology.²⁴

²⁰ *The Behavior of Crowds* (New York, 1920), pp. 35–36. Martin was well versed in the psychoanalytical literature of his time.

²¹ Jung, quoted by Ira Progoff, *Jung's Psychology and Its Social Meaning* (New York, 1953), p. ix; Erik H. Erikson, "The First Psychoanalyst," *Yale Rev.*, XLVI (1956), 40–62; Melitta Schmideberg, "Zum Verständnis massenpsychologischer Erscheinungen," *Imago*, XXI (1935), 445–57.

²² See esp. Fromm, "Über Methode und Aufgabe einer analytischen Sozialpsychologie," *Zeits. f. Sozialforschung*, I (1932), 28–54.

²³ Lefebvre, "Foules révolutionnaires," in his *Études sur la Révolution Française* (Paris, 1954), pp. 271–87, and *La grande peur de 1789* (Paris, 1932). Philip Rieff, "The Origins of Freud's Political Psychology," *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, XVII (1956), 233–49, is equally hard on Le Bon.

²⁴ To mention a few titles: Nathan Leites, *A Study of Bolshevism* (Glencoe, Ill., 1953); Gabriel A. Almond, et al., *The Appeals of Communism* (Princeton, 1954); Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951); the essay by Henry Pachter in *The Third*

As historians we must be particularly concerned with the problem whether major changes in the psychology of a society or culture can be traced, even in part, to some severe trauma suffered in common, that is, with the question whether whole communities, like individuals, can be profoundly affected by some shattering experience. If it is indeed true that every society or culture has a "unique psychological fabric," deriving at least in part from past common experiences and attitudes, it seems reasonable to suppose that any great crisis, such as famine, pestilence, natural disaster, or war, should leave its mark on the group, the intensity and duration of the impact depending, of course, on the nature and magnitude of the crisis. I hasten to say in advance that I do not, of course, imagine the psychological impact of such crises to be uniform for all members of the population, for if modern psychology has demonstrated anything it is the proposition that in any given situation individuals will react in widely diverse ways, depending on their constitution, their family background, their early experiences, and other factors. But these varying responses are apt to be reflected chiefly in the immediate effects of the catastrophe. Over the long term (which is of greater interest to the historian) it seems likely that the group would react in a manner most nearly corresponding to the underlying requirements of the majority of its members, in other words, that despite great variations as between individuals there would be a dominant attitudinal pattern.

I admit that all this is hypothetical and that we are here moving into unexplored territory, but allow me to examine a specific problem which, though remote from the area of my special competence, is nevertheless one to which I have devoted much study and thought. Perhaps I may begin by recalling Freud's observation that contemporary man, living in a scientific age in which epidemic disease is understood and to a large extent controlled, is apt to lose appreciation of the enormous, uncomprehended losses of life in past generations, to say nothing of the prolonged and widespread emotional strain occasioned by such disasters.²⁵ Some exception must be made here for historians of the ancient world who, since the days of Niebuhr, have concerned themselves with the possible effects of widespread disease and high mortality on the fate of the Mediterranean civilizations. Some have made a strong case for

Reich, ed. M. Baumont, J. H. E. Fried, and E. Vermeil (New York, 1955) and the discussion of it by Carl E. Schorske, "A New Look at the Nazi Movement," *World Politics*, IX (1956), 88-97. See also Hadley Cantril, *The Psychology of Social Movements* (New York, 1941), for a discussion of various modern mass movements, and Raymond A. Bauer, "The Psycho-Cultural Approach to Soviet Studies," *World Politics*, VII (1954), 119-32, for a critical review of several analyses of Soviet society.

²⁵ Freud, "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death" (1915), in *Collected Papers* (London, 1924-1934), IV, No. 17.

the proposition that malaria, which seems to have first appeared in Greece and Italy in the fourth or fifth centuries B.C., soon became endemic and led on the one hand to serious debilitation, sloth, and unwillingness to work, and on the other to excitability, brutality, and general degradation. Recent researches suggest that malaria may have been one of the main causes of the collapse of the Etruscan civilization and may have accounted, at least in part, for the change in Greek character after the fourth century, especially for the growing lack of initiative, the prevalent cowardice, and the increasing trend toward cruelty. With reference to the fate of the Roman Empire, Professor Arthur Boak has recently reexamined the striking loss of population in the third and fourth centuries A.D. and has attributed it largely to the great epidemics of A.D. 165-180 and 250-280, thus reaffirming the view of Niebuhr and others that the Empire never really recovered from these tragic visitations.²⁶

The literature on these and subsequent epidemics is, however, devoted largely to their medical and sanitational aspects, or at most to their economic and social effects. My primary interest, as I have said, is with the possible long-range psychological repercussions. To study these I think we may well pass over the great plague of Athens in 430 B.C., so vividly reported by Thucydides, and the so-called plague of Justinian of the sixth century A.D., not because they were unimportant but because there is much more voluminous and instructive information about the Black Death of 1348-1349 and the ensuing period of devastating disease.

Western Europe seems to have been relatively free from major epidemics in the period from the sixth to the fourteenth century and it may well be that the revival of trade and the growth of towns, with their congestion and lack of sanitation, had much to do with the spread and establishment of the great mortal diseases like plague, typhus, syphilis, and influenza.²⁷ At any rate, the Black Death was worse than anything experienced prior to that time and was, in all probability, the greatest single disaster that has ever befallen European mankind. In most localities a third or even a half of the population was lost within the space of a few months, and it is important to remember that the great visitation of 1348-1349 was only the beginning of a period of pandemic

²⁶ W. H. S. Jones, *Dea Febris: A Study of Malaria in Ancient Italy* (n.p., n.d.) and *Malaria and Greek History* (Manchester, 1909); Jones, Major R. Ross, and G. G. Ellet, *Malaria, a Neglected Factor in the History of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge, 1907); Nello Toscanelli, *La malaria nell'antichità e la fine degli Etruschi* (Milan, 1927), esp. pp. 237 ff.; A. E. R. Boak, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1955).

²⁷ Bernard M. Lersch, *Geschichte der Volksseuchen* (Berlin, 1896), pp. 52 ff.; L. Fabian Hirst, *The Conquest of Plague* (Oxford, 1953), p. 10. It is highly likely that the arrival of rats in Europe in the twelfth century had an important bearing on the spread of bubonic plague. See Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice and History* (Boston, 1935), pp. 195 ff.; Major Greenwood, *Epidemics and Crowd-Diseases* (New York, 1937), pp. 289 ff.

disease with a continuing frightful drain of population. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that for three hundred years Europe was ravaged by one disease or another, or more usually by several simultaneously, the serious outbreaks coming generally at intervals of five to ten years.²⁸ Professor Lynn Thorndike, who thirty years ago wrote in the *American Historical Review* of the blight of pestilence on early modern civilization, pointed out that the period of greatest affliction was that of the Renaissance, and especially the years from about 1480 until 1540, during which period frequent severe outbreaks of bubonic plague were reinforced by attacks of typhus fever and by the onset of the great epidemic of syphilis, to say nothing of the English Sweat (probably influenza) which repeatedly devastated England before invading the Continent in 1529. The bubonic plague began to die out in Western Europe only in the late seventeenth century, to disappear almost completely after the violent outbreak at Marseilles in 1720. But the Balkans and Middle East continued to suffer from it until well into the nineteenth century and the pandemic that broke out in India in the 1890's was evidently comparable to the Black Death in terms of mortality and duration.²⁹

The extensive records of the Black Death have been long and carefully studied, not only with reference to their medical aspects, but also in connection with the economic and social effects of so sudden and substantial a loss of population. The English population is estimated to have fallen from 3,700,000 in 1348 to 2,100,000 in 1400, the mortality rates of the period 1348-1375 far exceeding those of modern India. While the figures for continental

²⁸ August Hirsch, *Handbook of Geographical and Historical Pathology*, trans. Charles Creighton (London, 1883-1885), I, chap. x; Georg Sticker, *Abhandlungen aus der Seuchengeschichte und Seuchenlehre*, I, *Die Pest* (Giessen, 1908), pp. 74 ff.; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, p. 13; Josiah C. Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1948), pp. 2, 14 ff.; Lynn Thorndike, "The Blight of Pestilence on Early Modern Civilization," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII (1927), 455-74; C. W. Previté-Orton, *Cambridge Medieval History* (Cambridge, 1932), introd.; David A. Stewart, "Disease and History," *Ann. Medical Hist.*, N.S., VII (1935), 351-71; Herman B. Allyn, "The Black Death, Its Social and Economic Results," *ibid.*, VII (1925), 226-36; the excellent, succinct review by Yves Renouard, "Conséquences et intérêt de démographique de la peste noire de 1348," *Population* [Paris], III (1948), 459-66, and "La peste noire de 1348-1350," *Rev. de Paris* (Mar., 1950), 107-19. According to Charles Mullett, *The Bubonic Plague and England* (Lexington, Ky., 1956), p. 18, there were no less than twenty attacks in England in the course of the fifteenth century.

²⁹ Hirsch, *Handbook . . . Pathology*, I, chaps. III, x, XI; II, chap. II; Justus F. K. Hecker, *The Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, trans. B. G. Babington (London, 1844), pp. 188 ff.; Charles Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (Cambridge, 1891), I, chap. VIII; Hermann Meyer, "Zur Geschichte der Pest im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Schauinsland*, XXVIII (1901), 13-32; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, p. 16. It is highly likely that the replacement of the black rat by the brown rat in Europe in the early eighteenth century had an important bearing on the decline of the plague, since the black rat was much more domesticated than the brown (see Zinsser, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.), and it may well be that the growing severity of the European climate, beginning with the late sixteenth century, may have reduced the reproduction rate of the rat flea which is the carrier of the plague bacillus. See Gustaf Utterström, "Climate Fluctuations and Population Problems in Early Modern History," *Scandinavian Econ. Hist. Rev.*, III (1955), 3-47.

countries are less complete, the available data suggests that the losses were comparable.³⁰ Cities and towns suffered particularly, but in some areas as many as 40 per cent of the villages and hamlets were abandoned, the survivors joining with those of other settlements or moving to the depopulated towns where opportunity beckoned.³¹ Although a generation ago there was a tendency, especially among English historians, to minimize the social effects of the Black Death, more recent writers like G. G. Coulton, for example, acknowledge that the great epidemic, if it did not evoke entirely new forces, did vastly accelerate those already operative.³² The economic progress of Europe, which had been phenomenal in the thirteenth century, came to a halt and was soon followed by a prolonged depression lasting until the mid-fifteenth century and in a sense even into the seventeenth.³³

³⁰ Julius Beloch, "Bevölkerungsgeschichte Europas im Mittelalter," *Zeits. f. Socialwissenschaft*, III (1900), 405-23; Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 263 ff., 375, and "Medieval Population," *Social Forces*, XV (1937), 503-11; Renouard, "Conséquences . . . de la peste noire"; Maxim Kowalewsky, *Die ökonomische Entwicklung Europas* (Berlin, 1911), V, 277 ff., 321 ff., 362 ff., 400 ff.

³¹ On the desertion of villages and the depopulation of the countryside see Francis A. Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence* (London, 1893), pp. 28 ff., 54, 68, and chaps. ix, x, *passim*; Creighton, *History of Epidemics*, I, 122, 177, 191; Maurice Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England* (London, 1954) who, however, attributes the abandonment of villages to increasing enclosures for grazing, at least in the first instance. By far the best treatments are those of Friedrich Lütge, *Deutsche Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), pp. 144 ff., and Wilhelm Abel, *Die Wüstungen des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (2d ed., Stuttgart, 1955).

³² So far as Germany is concerned the reaction to exaggerated claims was first expressed by Robert Hoeniger, *Der Schwarz Tod in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 77 ff. In England the reversal of opinion was brought about largely through the researches of A. Elizabeth Levett, "The Black Death on the Estates of the See of Winchester," *Oxford Stud. in Social and Legal Hist.*, V (1916), 1-120, and was strongly reflected in such writings as Helen Robbins, "A Comparison of the Effects of the Black Death on the Economic Organization of France and England," *Jour. Polit. Econ.*, XXXVI (1928), 447-79. For the best-informed recent evaluations, see Coulton, *The Black Death* (London, 1929), chap. v; also the very judicious review by Eileen E. Power, "The Effects of the Black Death on Rural Organization in England," *History*, N.S., III (1918), 109-16; the basic study for Spain by Charles Verlinden, "La grande peste en Espagne: Contribution à l'étude de ses conséquences économiques et sociales," *Rev. belge de philol. et d'hist.*, XVII (1938), 101-46; and the admirable summaries by Renouard, cited above, fn. 28.

³³ So eminent an authority as Wilhelm Abel, "Wachstumsschwankungen mitteleuropäischer Völker seit dem Mittelalter," *Jahrb. f. Nationalökonomie u. Statistik*, CXLII (1935), 670-92, holds that pestilence, famine, and war were not enough to account for the enormous decline in population and that psychological forces, as yet unanalyzed, led to a reluctance to marry and raise a family. E. J. Hobsbawm, "The General Crisis of the European Economy in the 17th Century," *Past and Present* (1954), No. 5, 33-53 and No. 6, 44-65, notes that the economic crisis, which had been in process since about 1300, came to an end at just about the time the plague died out. On the general economic depression see especially M. Postan, "Revisions in Economic History: The Fifteenth Century," *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, IX (1939), 160-67; John Saltmarsh, "Plague and Economic Decline in England in the Later Middle Ages," *Cambridge Hist. Jour.*, VII (1941), 23-41; Edouard Perroy, "Les crises du xiv^e siècle," *Annales*, IV (1949), 167-82, who stresses the fact that the Black Death created a demographic crisis, superimposed on a food crisis (1315-1320) and a financial crisis (1335-1345); Robert S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The South," *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, II (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 338 ff.; Postan, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: The North," *ibid.*, pp. 191 ff.; and Lopez's review of M. Mollat's *Le Commerce maritime normand à la fin du moyen âge*, in *Speculum*, XXXII (1957), 386.

I make only the most fleeting reference to these questions, because my chief concern, as I have said, is to determine, if possible, what the long-term psychological effects of this age of disease may have been. The immediate horrors of great epidemics have been vividly described by eminent writers from Thucydides to Albert Camus and have been pictured on canvas by famous artists like Raphael and Delacroix.³⁴ At news of the approach of the disease a haunting terror seizes the population, in the Middle Ages leading on the one hand to great upsurges of repentance in the form of flagellant processions and on the other to a mad search for scapegoats, eventuating in large-scale pogroms of the Jews.³⁵ The most striking feature of such visitations has always been the precipitate flight from the cities, in which not only the wealthier classes but also town officials, professors and teachers, clergy, and even physicians took part.³⁶ The majority of the population, taking the disaster as an expression of God's wrath, devoted itself to penitential exercises, to merciful occupations, and to such good works as the repair of churches and the founding of religious houses. On the other hand, the horror and confusion in many places brought general demoralization and social breakdown. Criminal elements were quick to take over, looting the deserted houses and even murdering the sick in order to rob them of their jewels. Many, despairing of the goodness and mercy of God, gave themselves over to riotous living, resolved, as Thucydides says, "to get out of life the pleasures which could be had speedily and which would satisfy their lusts, regarding their bodies and their wealth alike as transitory." Drunkenness and sexual immorality were

³⁴ Cf. the realistic account in Camus, *La peste* (Paris, 1947), with the contemporary account of the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793 in Howard W. Haggard, *Devils, Drugs and Doctors* (New York, 1929), p. 213. Recent, as yet unpublished, studies of modern epidemics by Professors James Diggory and A. Pepitone of the University of Pennsylvania, bear out all the main features of earlier descriptions. Some striking plague paintings are reproduced in Raymond Crawford, *Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art* (Oxford, 1914).

³⁵ Although the appearance of flagellantism and the beginnings of the Jewish pogroms antedated the Black Death, they reached their fullest development in 1348-1349. See the basic accounts by Karl Lechner, "Die grosse Geisselfahrt des Jahres 1349," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, V (1884), 437-62; of Heine Pfannenschmid, "Die Geissler des Jahres 1349 in Deutschland und den Niederlanden," *Die Lieder und Melodien der Geissler des Jahres 1349*, ed. Paul Runge (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 89-218; Joseph McCabe, *The History of Flagellantism* (Girard, Kans., 1946), esp. 33 ff.; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957), chap. vi. See further Hecker, *Epidemics of the Middle Ages*, pp. 32 ff.; Hoeniger, *Der Schwarz Tod*; Johannes Nohl, *The Black Death* (London, 1926); A. L. Maycock, "A Note on the Black Death," *Nineteenth Century*, XCVII (1925), 456-64. As late as 1884 in Italy physicians were suspected as agents of the rich to poison the poor, and in 1896 British officials in Bombay were charged with spreading the plague. See Melitta Schmideberg, "The Role of Psychotic Mechanisms in Cultural Development," *Internat. Jour. Psychoanalysis*, XI (1930), 387-418; René Baehrel, "La haine de classe au temps d'épidémie," *Annales*, VII (1952), 351-60, who analyzes the popular reaction to the cholera epidemic of 1831-32; and Ilza Veith, "Plague and Politics," *Bull. Hist. Medicine*, XXVIII (1954), 408-15.

³⁶ The extent of such exodus may be judged from the fact that during the yellow fever epidemic of 1878 about 60 per cent of the population fled the city of Memphis (unpublished MS by James C. Diggory.)

the order of the day. "In one house," reported an observer of the London plague of 1665, "you might hear them roaring under the pangs of death, in the next tipling, whoring and belching out blasphemies against God."³⁷

The vivid description of the Black Death in Florence, in the introduction to Boccaccio's *Decameron*, is so familiar that further details about the immediate consequences may be dispensed with. Unfortunately neither the sources nor later historians tell us much of the long-range effects excepting that in the late nineteenth century a school of British writers traced to the Black Death fundamental changes in the agrarian system and indeed in the entire social order; the English prelate-historian, Francis Cardinal Gasquet, maintained that the Black Death, with its admittedly high mortality among the clergy, served to disrupt the whole religious establishment and thereby set the scene for the Protestant Reformation. Though this thesis is undoubtedly exaggerated, it does seem likely that the loss of clergy, especially in the higher ranks, the consequent growth of pluralities, the inevitable appointment of some who proved to be "clerical scamps" (Jessopp), and the vast enrichment of the Church through the legacies of the pious, all taken together played a significant role in the religious development of the later Middle Ages.³⁸

But again, these are essentially institutional problems which may reflect but do not explain the underlying psychological forces. That unusual forces of this kind were operative in the later Middle Ages seems highly probable. Indeed, a number of eminent historians have in recent years expatiated on the special character of this period.³⁹ I will not attempt even to summarize

³⁷ Quoted in Walter G. Bell, *The Great Plague in London in 1665* (London, 1924), p. 222. In addition to the classic accounts of Thucydides (*Peloponnesian War*, Book II) and Boccaccio (*Decameron*, introd.), see also the notes of the great physician, Ambroise Paré, *De la peste* in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1841), III, 350-464; Mullett, *op. cit.*, p. 118, on the London plague of 1603; F. P. Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford, 1927), chap. v on the London plague of 1625. Much evidence is adduced in B. S. Gowen, "Some Psychological Aspects of Pestilence and Other Epidemics," (Winchester, Tenn., 1907; enlarged reprint from the *Amer. Jour. Psychology*, XVIII [Jan., 1907], 1-60); Karl Lechner, *Das grosse Sterben in Deutschland* (Innsbruck, 1884), pp. 93 ff.; and the books of Creighton, Kowalewsky, Hecker, Nohl, Gasquet, and Coulton, all cited above.

³⁸ On the high mortality of the clergy in England see especially Russell, *British Medieval Population*, pp. 222 ff., 367. On the general problem see Gasquet, *Great Pestilence*, pp. xvi-xvii, 203 ff.; Augustus Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars and Other Historical Essays* (New York, 1889), pp. 245 ff.; Coulton, *The Black Death*, p. 48, and particularly his chapter on the Black Death in *Medieval Panorama* (New York, 1938); Hoeniger, *Der Schwarz Tod*, pp. 126 ff.; Anna M. Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning* (New York, 1931), 136 ff.; A. Hamilton Thompson, "The Registers of John Gynewell, Bishop of Lincoln, for the years 1349-1350" and "The Pestilences of the 14th Century in the Diocese of York," *Archeol. Jour.*, LXVIII (1911), 301-60, LXXI (1914), 97-154. According to Peter G. Mode, *The Influence of the Black Death on the English Monasteries* (Chicago, 1916), chaps. II, VI, the heads of at least 120 monasteries had died and some of those who succeeded proved to be veritable gangsters. Verlinden lays great stress on the enrichment of the Church in Spain through donations and legacies.

³⁹ Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1927) was, in a sense, the

the various interpretations of the temper of that age which have been advanced on one side or the other. None of the commentators, so far as I can see, have traced or determined the connection between the great and constantly recurring epidemics and the state of mind of much of Europe at that time. Yet this relationship would seem to leap to the eye. The age was marked, as all admit, by a mood of misery, depression, and anxiety, and by a general sense of impending doom.⁴⁰ Numerous writers in widely varying fields have commented on the morbid preoccupation with death, the macabre interest in tombs, the gruesome predilection for the human corpse.⁴¹ Among painters the favorite themes were Christ's passion, the terrors of the Last Judgment, and the tortures of Hell, all depicted with ruthless realism and with an almost loving devotion to each repulsive detail.⁴² Altogether characteristic was the immense popularity of the Dance of Death woodcuts and murals, with appropriate verses, which appeared soon after the Black Death and which, it is agreed, expressed the sense of the immediacy of death and the dread of dying unshriven. Throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these pitilessly naturalistic pictures ensured man's constant realization of his imminent fate.⁴³

counterpart to Jakob Burckhardt's *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (London, 1878). Of the more recent books the following seem to me particularly significant: Rudolf Stadelmann, *Vom Geist des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Halle, 1929); Will-Erich Peuckert, *Die grosse Wende. Das apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther* (Hamburg, 1948); Hermann Heimpel, "Das Wesen des Spätmittelalters," *Der Mensch in seiner Gegenwart* (Göttingen, 1954).

⁴⁰ Huizinga, *op. cit.*, chap. i; Stadelmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 13; Peuckert, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 144; Willy Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation* (5th ed., Stuttgart, 1948), p. 202; Otto Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance in Northern Europe* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 10. In a broad way, Renouard (works noted in fn. 28) and Lucien Febvre ("La peste noire de 1348," *Annales*, IV [1949], 102-103) have suggested the psychological and religious repercussions of the great epidemics. Some authors speak of hysteria, paranoia, and mental disease. See Willy Hellpach, *Die geistigen Epidemien* (Frankfurt, 1905), pp. 84 ff.; Gregory Zilboorg, *A History of Medical Psychology* (New York, 1941), pp. 153 ff.; Norman Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, p. 73.

⁴¹ See esp. Frederick P. Weber, *Aspects of Death and Correlated Aspects of Life in Art, Epigram and Poetry* (London, 1918), pp. 157 ff.; Erna Döring-Hirsch, *Tod und jenseits im Spätmittelalter* (Berlin, 1927), *passim*. See also Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, chap. xi; Peuckert, *Die grosse Wende*, pp. 95 ff.; and esp. Émile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1908), pp. 375 ff., 423 ff. Paul Perdrizet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde* (Paris, 1908), chap. ix. Michelangelo on one occasion wrote to Vasari: "No thought is born in me which has not 'Death' engraved upon it" (quoted in Piero Misciatelli, *Savonarola* [English trans., Cambridge, 1929], p. 103).

⁴² See Mâle, pp. 477 ff.; Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (Princeton, 1951), esp. chap. II; Crawford, *Plague . . . in Literature and Art*, chap. viii. On the German painters see Joseph Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (3d ed., Freiburg, 1940), I, 102; Benesch, *Art of the Renaissance*, pp. 10 ff.; Arthur Burkhard, *Matthias Grünewald* (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 74 ff.; Gillo Dorfles, *Bosch* (Verona, 1953).

⁴³ On the artistic side see Crawford, chap. viii; Mâle, pp. 383 ff.; Curt Sachs, *The Common-wealth of Art* (New York, 1946), pp. 88 ff. See also Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation*, pp. 206 ff.; Stadelmann, *Vom Geist des ausgehenden Mittelalters*, pp. 18 ff.; and the specialized studies of Gert Buchheit, *Der Totentanz* (Berlin, 1926); Henri Stegemeyer, *The Dance of Death in Folksong* (Chicago, 1939); Wolfgang Stammmler, *Der Totentanz* (Munich, 1948); and the particularly significant historical analysis of Hellmut Rosenfeld, *Der mittelalterliche Totentanz* (Münster, 1954), pp. 33 ff., 59 ff.

The origins of the Dance of Death theme have been generally traced to the Black Death and subsequent epidemics, culminating in the terror brought on by the outbreak of syphilis at the end of the fifteenth century. Is it unreasonable, then, to suppose that many of the other phenomena I have mentioned might be explained, at least in part, in the same way? We all recognize the late Middle Ages as a period of popular religious excitement or overexcitement, of pilgrimages and penitential processions, of mass preaching, of veneration of relics and adoration of saints, of lay piety and popular mysticism.⁴⁴ It was apparently also a period of unusual immorality and shockingly loose living, which we must take as the continuation of the "devil-may-care" attitude of one part of the population. This the psychologists explain as the repression of unbearable feelings by accentuating the value of a diametrically opposed set of feelings and then behaving as though the latter were the real feelings.⁴⁵ But the most striking feature of the age was an exceptionally strong sense of guilt and a truly dreadful fear of retribution, seeking expression in a passionate longing for effective intercession and in a craving for direct, personal experience of the Deity, as well as in a corresponding dissatisfaction with the Church and with the mechanization of the means of salvation as reflected, for example, in the traffic in indulgences.⁴⁶

These attitudes, along with the great interest in astrology, the increased resort to magic, and the startling spread of witchcraft and Satanism in the fifteenth century were, according to the precepts of modern psychology, normal reactions to the sufferings to which mankind in that period was subjected.⁴⁷ It must be remembered that the Middle Ages, ignoring the teachings

⁴⁴ The subject is too large to permit of even a cursory analysis, but see Stadelmann, chap. III; Lortz, I, 99 ff.; Andreas, chap. III and pp. 191 ff.; and Heimpel, noted above. See also Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism* (12th ed., London, 1930), esp. 453 ff., and "Medieval Mysticism," *Cambridge Medieval History*, VII (New York, 1932), chap. xxvi; Margaret Smith, *Studies in Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East* (London, 1931), pp. 256-57. As long ago as 1880 the eminent orientalist Alfred von Kremer suggested the connection of mysticism (Sufism) with the great plague epidemics in the Middle East. See his "Über die grossen Seuchen des Orientes nach arabischen Quellen," *Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der kais. Akad. Wissenschaftern, Wien*, XCVI (1880), 69-156.

⁴⁵ James W. Thompson, "The Aftermath of the Black Death and the Aftermath of the Great War," *Amer. Jour. Sociol.*, XXVI (1920-1921), 565-72, on the continuing degeneration.

⁴⁶ Wallace K. Ferguson, "The Church in a Changing World: A Contribution to the Interpretation of the Renaissance," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, LIX (1953), 1-18; review by Kurt F. Reinhardt of Friedrich W. Oedinger, *Über die Bildung der Geistlichen im späten Mittelalter* (Leiden, 1953), in *Speculum*, XXXII (1957), 391-92; Lortz, I, 99 ff.; Andreas, pp. 152-53, 169 ff.; and the eloquent pages on the Church in the mid-fourteenth century in Henri Daniel-Rops, *Cathedral and Crusade: Studies of the Medieval Church, 1050-1350* (London, 1957), pp. 593 ff. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, is devoted entirely to a study of the "revolutionary chiliastic movements" in Europe from the Crusades onward.

⁴⁷ On the triumph of astrology see Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, IV (New York, 1934), 611 ff.; H. A. Strauss, *Psychologie und astrologische Symbolik* (Zurich, 1953); Mark Graubard, *Astrology and Alchemy* (New York, 1953), chaps. iv, v. On the reemergence of pagan superstitions, the practice of magic, and the belief in witches as a

of the Greek physicians and relying entirely upon Scripture and the writings of the Church fathers, considered disease the scourge of God upon a sinful people.⁴⁸ All men, as individuals, carry within themselves a burden of unconscious guilt and a fear of retribution which apparently go back to the curbing and repression of sexual and aggressive drives in childhood and the emergence of death wishes directed against the parents. This sense of sin, which is fundamental to all religion, is naturally enhanced by the impact of vast unaccountable and uncontrollable forces threatening the existence of each and every one.⁴⁹ Whether or not there is also a primordial racial sense of guilt, as Freud argued in his *Totem and Taboo* (1913), it is perfectly clear that disaster and death threatening the entire community will bring on a mass emotional disturbance, based on a feeling of helpless exposure, disorientation, and common guilt.⁵⁰ Furthermore, it seems altogether plausible to suppose that children, having experienced the terror of their parents and the panic of the community, will react to succeeding crises in a similar but even

heretical sect devoted to worship of the devil and the perpetration of evil see Thorndike, *op. cit.*, IV, 274 ff.; Peuckert, pp. 119 ff.; Andreas, pp. 28 ff., 217 ff.; Joseph Hansen, *Zauberwesen, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1900), pp. 326 ff.; Margaret A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921), esp. pp. 11 ff.; Harmanns Obendiek, *Satanismus und Dämonie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1928); Montague Summers, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* (2d ed., New York, 1956), pp. 1 ff.; Gregory Zilboorg, *op. cit.* It may be noted, for what it is worth, that in the fifteenth century witches were accused of inhibiting human fertility: possibly a reflection of popular concern over the rapidly diminishing population. It is also interesting to observe that witch trials died out in Europe concurrently with the disappearance of the plague in the eighteenth century.

⁴⁸ God might, of course, act through natural phenomena such as comets, floods, droughts, or miasma. For a good discussion of this point see G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion*, II (Cambridge, 1927), p. 394; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, chap. II; Kenneth Walker, *The Story of Medicine* (New York, 1955), pp. 71 ff.; and esp. Paul H. Kocher, "The Idea of God in Elizabethan Medicine," *Jour. Hist. Ideas*, XI (1950), 3-29. This explanation was generally accepted through the early modern period and undoubtedly presented a great obstacle to the development of medical and sanitational measures. See Mullett, *Bubonic Plague and England*, pp. 74, 88. Recent studies on modern disasters indicate that it is still widely held, despite the discoveries of Pasteur and his successors. See Martha Wolfenstein, *Disaster: A Psychological Study* (Glencoe, Ill., 1957), pp. 199 ff.

⁴⁹ The crucial problem of guilt feelings has not been much studied except by Freud and his successors. See Freud, "Thoughts for the Times on War and Death," (1915) and the succinct discussion in Jones, *What Is Psychoanalysis?* pp. 101 ff., 114. For the continuance of this feeling in modern times see Wolfenstein, *Disaster*, p. 71. Cantril, *The Invasion from Mars* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 161 ff., quotes one man as saying: "The broadcast had us all worried, but I knew it would at least scare ten years' life out of my mother-in-law."

⁵⁰ A later explanation of the sense of communal guilt, as it appears among the Jews, was advanced by Freud in his *Moses and Monotheism* (1939). Still another, quite different and quite persuasive, argument is presented by Theodor Reik, *Myth and Guilt: The Crime and Punishment of Mankind* (New York, 1957), esp. pp. 34 ff., 146 ff. Oskar Pfister, *Das Christentum und die Angst* (Zurich, 1944) has examined the relation of anxiety to guilt feelings and the magnification of communal anxieties in the face of disaster. For concrete studies of medieval mass hysteria see Louis F. Calmeil, *De la folie* (Paris, 1845); René Fülöp-Miller, *Leaders, Dreamers and Rebels* (New York, 1935); and esp. the admirable scholarly study of Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millennium*, which stresses the analogies between individual and collective paranoia.

more intense manner. In other words, the anxiety and fear are transmitted from one generation to another, constantly aggravated.

Now it has long been recognized by psychologists that man, when crushed by unfathomable powers, tends to regress to infantile concepts and that, like his predecessor in primitive times, he has recourse to magic in his efforts to ward off evil and appease the angry deity.⁵¹ It is generally agreed that magic and religion are closely related, both deriving from fear of unknown forces and especially of death, and both reflecting an effort to ensure the preservation of the individual and the community from disease and other afflictions.⁵² Death-dealing epidemics like those of the late Middle Ages were bound to produce a religious revival, the more so as the established Church was proving itself ever less able to satisfy the yearning for more effective intercession and for a more personal relationship to God.⁵³ Wyclif, himself a survivor of the Black Death, is supposed to have been deeply affected by his gruelling experience, and there is nothing implausible in the suggestion that Lollardy was a reaction to the shortcomings of the Church in that great crisis.⁵⁴ In this connection it is also worth remarking that the first expression

⁵¹ Jung, "After the Catastrophe," *Essays on Contemporary Events* (London, 1947). See also Johann Kinkel, "Zur Frage der psychologischen Grundlagen und des Ursprungs der Religion," *Imago*, VIII (1922), 23-45, 197-241; Henry E. Sigerist, *Civilization and Disease* (Ithaca, 1943), chap. vi; Arturo Castiglioni, *Adventures of the Mind* (New York, 1946), pp. ix, 2, 11, 19; Bronislaw Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion* (Boston, 1948), pp. 15, 29, 116; Charles Odier, *Anxiety and Magic Thinking* (New York, 1956), pp. 38 ff.; Melitta Schmideberg, "Role of Psychotic Mechanisms in Cultural Development"; Franz Alexander, "On the Psychodynamics of Regressive Phenomena in Panic States," *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*, IV (1955), 104-11. Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, has noted the reversion to magic during all great plague epidemics and reports that charms and amulets were never more prevalent among even educated Englishmen than during the epidemic of 1665. Jessopp, *Coming of the Friars*, p. 166, remarked that in his day the threat of any epidemic still brought on "wild-eyed panic" and resort to all kinds of superstitious practices.

⁵² James H. Leuba, *The Psychological Origin and the Nature of Religion* (London, 1921), pp. 4, 81; George F. Moore, *The Birth and Growth of Religion* (New York, 1924), pp. 3, 8, 17; W. B. Selbie, *The Psychology of Religion* (Oxford, 1924), p. 32; Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, p. 29; Willy Hellpach, *Grundriss der Religionspsychologie* (Stuttgart, 1951), pp. 6 ff.

⁵³ In this connection the great expansion of the cult of the Virgin Mary and even more of her mother, St. Anne, is worth noting; also the fact that among the ten or twelve most popular saints of the late fifteenth century, the so-called "plague saints" (St. Anthony, St. Sebastian, St. Roch), were particularly favored. See Huizinga, *Waning of the Middle Ages*, chap. xii; Crawford, *Plague . . . in Literature and Art*, chap. viii; and esp. Mâle, *Art religieux*, pp. 157 ff., 193 ff. and Perdrixet, *La Vierge de Miséricorde*, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *The Last Age of the Church*, written in 1356 and first published in 1840, is a violent denunciation of the depravity revealed in the time of the Black Death. It was long believed to have been the first work of Wyclif but is now attributed to an unnamed Spiritual Franciscan. See James H. Todd, *The Last Age of the Church, by John Wycliffe* (Dublin, 1840); J. Foster Palmer, "Pestilences: Their Influence on the Destiny of Nations," *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, I (1884), 242-59; H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif: A Study of the English Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1926), I, 14; Robert Vaughan, *The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe* (London, 1928), I, 238 ff.; and, on the general problem, Coulton, *The Black Death*, p. 111, and Mullett, *Bubonic Plague and England*, p. 34.

of Zwingli's reformed faith was his *Song of Prayer in Time of Plague*.⁵⁵

Most striking, however, is the case of the greatest of the reformers, Martin Luther, who seems to me to reflect clearly the reaction of the individual to the situation I have been sketching. Luther left behind almost a hundred volumes of writings, thousands of letters, and very voluminous table-talk, suggesting an unusually self-analytical and self-critical personality.⁵⁶ From all this material it has long been clear that he suffered from an abnormally strong sense of sin and of the immediacy of death and damnation. Tortured by the temptations of the flesh and repeatedly in conflict with a personalized demon, he was chronically oppressed by a pathological feeling of guilt and lived in constant terror of God's judgment. So striking were these traits that some of Luther's biographers have questioned his sanity.⁵⁷

Here it is interesting to recall that one of our own colleagues, the late Professor Preserved Smith, as long ago as 1913, attacked the problem in an article entitled "Luther's Early Development in the Light of Psychoanalysis."⁵⁸ Smith, who was remarkably conversant with Freudian teaching when psychoanalysis was still in its early stage of development, considered Luther highly neurotic—probably driven to enter the monastery by the hope of finding a refuge from temptation and an escape from damnation, and eventually arriving at the doctrine of salvation by faith alone only after he had convinced himself of the impossibility of conquering temptation by doing penance. It may well be that Smith overdid his thesis, but the fact remains that his article was treated with great respect by Dr. Paul J. Reiter, who later published a huge and greatly detailed study of Luther's personality. Reiter reached the conclusion, already suggested by Adolf Hausrath in 1905, that the great reformer suffered from a manic-depressive psychosis, which, frequently associated with genius, involved a constant struggle with, and victory over, enormous psychological pressures. The point of mentioning all this is to sug-

⁵⁵ This very moving appeal for divine aid (1519) is reprinted in Georg Finsler, *et al.*, *Ulrich Zwingli: Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften* (Zurich, 1918), pp. 17-19. See also Pfister, *Das Christentum und die Angst*, 321 ff., according to whom Calvin was terror-stricken by the plague and, unlike Luther, was unwilling to stick at his post during severe epidemics. He firmly believed that a group of thirty-four men and women witches had for three years spread the plague in Geneva and that in their case even the most extreme forms of torture were justified.

⁵⁶ Karl Holl, "Luthers Urteile über sich Selbst," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, I, *Luther* (Tübingen, 1921); Heinrich Böhmer, *Road to Reformation; Martin Luther to the Year 1521* (Philadelphia, 1946), foreword; Karl A. Meissinger, *Der katholische Luther* (Munich, 1952), p. 2.

⁵⁷ Hartmann Grisar, *Luther* (London, 1913-1917), I, 110 ff.; VI, chap. xxxvi, discusses many of these views but Grisar takes a more moderate stand. The most recent Catholic biography is that of Joseph Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland*, which is a very model of reasonableness.

⁵⁸ *Amer. Jour. Psychology*, XXIV (1913), 360-77.

gest that Luther's trials were typical of his time. In any event, it is inconceivable that he should have evoked so great a popular response unless he had succeeded in expressing the underlying, unconscious sentiments of large numbers of people and in providing them with an acceptable solution to their religious problem.⁵⁹

I must apologize for having raised so lugubrious a subject on so festive an occasion, but I could not resist the feeling that the problems presented by the later Middle Ages are exactly of the type that might be illuminated by modern psychology. I do not claim that the psychological aspects of this apocalyptic age have been entirely neglected by other students. Indeed, Millard Meiss, a historian of art, has written a most impressive study of Florentine and Sienese painting in the second half of the fourteenth century in which he has analyzed the many and varied effects of the Black Death, including the bearing of that great catastrophe on the further development of the religious situation.⁶⁰ But no one, to my knowledge, has undertaken to fathom the psychological crisis provoked by the chronic, large-scale loss of life and the attendant sense of impending doom.

I would not, of course, argue that psychological doctrine, even if it were more advanced and more generally accepted than it is, would resolve all the perplexities of the historian. Better than most scholars, the historian knows that human motivation, like causation, is a complex and elusive process. In view of the fact that we cannot hope ever to have complete evidence on any historical problem, it seems unlikely that we shall ever have definitive answers. But I am sure you will agree that there are still possibilities of en-

⁵⁹ Hausrath, *Luthers Leben* (Berlin, 1905); Reiter, *Martin Luthers Umwelt, Charakter und Psychose* (Copenhagen, 1937, 1941); Wilhelm Lange-Eichbaum, *Genie, Irrsinn und Ruhm* (4th ed., Munich, 1956), pp. 375-78. See also Walther von Loewenich, "Zehn Jahre Lutherforschung," in *Theologie und Liturgie*, ed. Liemar Hennig (Cassell, 1952), pp. 119-70 and Martin Werner, "Psychologisches zum Klostererlebnis Martin Luthers," *Schweiz. Zeitsch. für Psychologie*, VII (1948), 1-18, who follows Smith's thesis closely. The argument hinges on the harshness of Luther's upbringing and the extent of his father fixation. Smith noted that on at least one occasion Luther asserted that he had entered the monastery to escape harsh treatment at home. His father's unalterable opposition to this step may have played a part in Luther's later decision to leave the monastery. According to Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York, 1950), pp. 288 ff., Luther's decision (in 1525) to marry was at least in part due to his wish to gratify his father's desire for progeny. Recent writers tend to explain away the harshness of Luther's youth, which indeed was probably less unusual and less important than Smith supposed. See Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther* (Tübingen, 1916); Böhmer, *Martin Luther*; Meissinger, *Der katholische Luther*; Robert H. Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (New York, 1957), pp. 5, 9, 99, 117 ff.; Bainton, *Here I Stand*, pp. 23, 25, 28 and chap. XXI *passim*, who insists that Luther's psychological troubles were of a strictly religious character, due to "tensions which medieval religion deliberately induced, playing alternately upon fear and hope."

⁶⁰ Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, while dealing with a restricted subject and a limited period, is in my opinion a masterpiece of synthesis and one of the very few books to recognize the full and varied impact of the Black Death. See also Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1955), II, 479-80.

riching our understanding of the past and that it is our responsibility, as historians, to leave none of these possibilities unexplored. I call your attention to the fact that for many years young scholars in anthropology, sociology, religion, literature, education, and other fields have gone to psychoanalytic institutes for special training, and I suggest that some of our own younger men might seek the same equipment. For of this I have no doubt, that modern psychology is bound to play an ever greater role in historical interpretation. For some time now there has been a marked trend toward recognition of the irrational factors in human development, and it is interesting to observe the increased emphasis being laid on psychological forces. May I recall that perhaps the most stimulating non-Marxist interpretation of imperialism, that of the late Joseph Schumpeter, which goes back to 1918, rests squarely on a psychological base? Or need I point out that recent treatments of such forces as totalitarianism and nationalism lay great stress on psychological factors?⁶¹ Indeed, within the past year two books have appeared which have a direct bearing on my argument. One is T. D. Kendrick's *The Lisbon Earthquake*, which is devoted to a study of the effects of that disaster of 1755 upon the whole attitude and thought of the later eighteenth century. The other is Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millenium*, which reviews the chiliastic movements of the Middle Ages and comes to the conclusion that almost every major disaster, be it famine, plague, or war, produced some such movement and that only analysis of their psychic content will help us to explain them.

Aldous Huxley, in one of his essays, discusses the failure of historians to devote sufficient attention to the great ebb and flow of population and its effect on human development. He complains that while Arnold Toynbee concerned himself so largely with pressures and responses, there is in the index of his first six volumes no entry for "population," though there are five references to Popilius Laenas and two to Porphyry of Batamaea.⁶² To this I might add that the same index contains no reference to pestilence, plague, epidemics, or Black Death. This, I submit, is mildly shocking and should remind us, as historians, that we cannot rest upon past achievements but must constantly seek wider horizons and deeper insights. We find ourselves in the midst of the International Geophysical Year, and we all know that scientists entertain high hopes of enlarging through cooperation their understanding as well as their knowledge of the universe. It is quite possible that they may throw fur-

⁶¹ See, for example, Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, and Boyd C. Shafer, *Nationalism: Myth and Reality* (New York, 1955).

⁶² Huxley, *Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow* (New York, 1956), p. 221.

ther light on such problems as the influence of sunspots on terrestrial life and the effects of weather on the conduct of human affairs.⁶³ We may, for all we know, be on the threshold of a new era when the historian will have to think in ever larger, perhaps even in cosmic, terms.

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⁶³ Fully a generation ago a Soviet scientist thought he could establish an eleven-year cycle of maximum sunspot activity and that these periods were also those of maximum mass excitability as revealed by revolutions and other social disturbances. Furthermore, his correlation of periods of maximum sunspot activity with cholera epidemics in the nineteenth century seemed to reveal a remarkable coincidence. See the summary translation of the book by A. L. Tchijevsky, "Physical Factors of the Historical Process," as read before the American Meteorological Society, December 30, 1926, and now reprinted in *Cycles* (Feb., 1957). Of the many studies of climatic, nutritional, and similar influences on human affairs, see Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilization and Climate* (New Haven, 1915); *The Character of Races* (New York, 1924); *Mainsprings of Civilization* (New York, 1946); Willy Hellpach, *Geopsyche* (5th ed., Leipzig, 1939); Louis Berman, *Food and Character* (Boston, 1932); C. C. and S. M. Furnas, *Man, Bread and Destiny* (Baltimore, 1937); E. Parmelee Prentice, *Hunger and History* (New York, 1939); Josué de Castro, *The Geography of Hunger* (Boston, 1952).

Some Aspects of Whig Thought and Theory in the Jacksonian Period*

GLYNDON G. VAN DEUSEN

DURING the last one hundred years, a considerable number of historians and biographers have attempted to assay the character of Jacksonian democracy. The results have been a series of conflicting interpretations. Some have seen the movement simply as the rising of the masses against aristocratic rule.¹ Others have depicted it as a glowing tribute to Jackson himself.² To Frederick Jackson Turner, Jacksonian democracy represented the essence of the frontier spirit.³ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., while regarding Western debtor elements as important in the formation of Jacksonian democracy, puts his chief emphasis on the working class elements congregated in the Eastern cities and portrays the Democratic party as a political organization imbued with the belief that there was "a deep-rooted conflict in society between the 'producing' and 'non-producing' classes—the farmers and laborers on the one hand, and the business community on the other."⁴ Joseph Dorfman, on the other hand, regards Jacksonian democracy as a movement devoted to preserving a *laissez faire* society and, therefore, opposing high tariffs, corporations, and monopolies. It was, says Dorfman, essentially a middle class, free trade, reform movement.⁵ Bray Hammond and Richard Hofstadter maintain that the most dynamic element in Jacksonian democracy was its rising business element, avid

* Joseph Dorfman and Bray Hammond have been kind enough to read this article, and I have profited by their critical suggestions. I am also indebted to J. Cutler Andrews for his critical comments. No one but myself, however, bears any responsibility whatsoever for the views herein expressed.

¹ James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1866); Moisei Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties* (New York, 1902); Hermann Von Holst, *The Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (8 vols., Chicago, 1876-92); William G. Sumner, *Andrew Jackson as a Public Man* (Boston, 1882); John B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (8 vols., New York, 1883-1914); Cyrus Brady, *The True Andrew Jackson* (Philadelphia, 1906).

² William G. Brown, *Andrew Jackson* (Boston, 1900); Arthur Colyar, *Life and Times of Andrew Jackson* (Nashville, 1904); Augustus Buell, *History of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1904).

³ *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920). This was early Turner. The concept was later modified. See his *The United States 1830-1850* (New York, 1935).

⁴ *The Age of Jackson* (Boston, 1945), pp. 306-307.

⁵ *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* (2 vols., New York, 1946), II, 601-36 and "The Jackson Wage-Earner Thesis," *American Historical Review*, LIV (Jan., 1949), 296-306.

for state bank credit and resentful of the dominance of the conservative Whig capitalists.⁶

There is, in all these interpretations of Jacksonian democracy, some measure of validity. The movement was a rising of the masses in support of one who symbolized for them the virtue, the essential "rightness," of the common man. It was the hope of many a stout mechanic—and of many even stouter bankers, businessmen, and middle-class-minded farmers and planters. It rallied thousands of voters on the frontier. It contained many idealists, and not a few hard-boiled realists whose main objective was getting into office and staying there. It was also, in the opinion of this writer, a movement so heavily imbued with archaic notions about corporations, currency, banking, and doing nothing national government, that it would sooner or later have gone down to political defeat, even without the aid of the great depression which it helped to bring on.

The pity is that, in the midst of all this furious contention over Jacksonian democracy, the ideology of the rival Whig camp has suffered from neglect. Although Dixon Ryan Fox and Louis Hartz have made real contributions to the subject, and E. Malcolm Carroll, A. C. Cole, Joseph Dorfman, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Richard N. Current have touched on the Whig point of view at various angles,⁷ so far as I am aware there has been no systematic attempt to analyze Whig thought and theory as represented by the writings and speeches of the Whig leaders of the period. This essay, an approach to such an analysis, deals with aspects of the thought and theory of prominent Whigs of the New England, Middle Atlantic, and Western states.

One outstanding characteristic of Whig thought was its optimism regarding the future of the country. From Thomas Corwin in the West to John Quincy Adams in the East, the prevailing note was one of confidence as the Whig leaders contemplated America's great natural resources, the energy and ingenuity of the American people, and the rapid progress of invention. Corwin saw limitless possibilities for development in the West and in the nation. Samuel Ruggles, in the midst of the depression of 1837, declared that New York State could safely incur a debt of \$40,000,000 for internal improvements, an assertion which was characterized by John A. Dix as fit only to be classed

⁶ Hammond, *Banks and Politics in America* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), *passim* and "Public Policy and National Banks," *Journal of Economic History*, VI (May, 1946), 79–84; Hofstadter, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York, 1948), pp. 55–58.

⁷ Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York, 1919); Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York, 1955); Carroll, *Origins of the Whig Party* (Durham, N. C., 1925); Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, D. C., 1913); Dorfman, *op. cit.*; Schlesinger, *op. cit.*; Current, *Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism* (Boston, 1955).

with the Arabian Nights entertainment. Abbott Lawrence, on the slightest temptation, would launch into glowing predictions regarding the industrial future of the country and earnestly bid the South and the West to share in this industrial development.

To be sure, pessimism about the existing order sometimes reared its head amid the Whig ranks. More than one Whig succumbed to dark forebodings when there was prospect of a reduction of the tariff; by the latter 1830's John Quincy Adams was full of gloom occasioned by the rise of controversy over slavery; Greeley was so startled by the panic of 1837, and so alarmed by its accompanying mob violence, that he turned from contemplation of the nation's economic potential to the search for an equation between progress and utopian socialism.

The dominant note, however, was one of stubborn and sometimes ecstatic cheer. Senator Asher Robbins of Rhode Island prophesied in 1830 that in the blaze of America's glory "the master states of the world will be lost, as stars are lost in the blaze of the noon tide sun."⁸ Hezekiah Niles saw the free, democratic, enterprising American people making use of the tariff and internal improvements to become the greatest industrial nation in the world.⁹ William Seward told the New York State solons in 1839 that "our race is ordained to reach, on this continent, a higher standard of social perfection than it has ever yet attained; and that hence will proceed a spirit which shall renovate the world."¹⁰ And Webster, as usual, expressed the general conviction in magniloquent prose. "Our course, gentlemen," he said at a New York dinner in February, 1831, "is onward, straight onward, and forward. . . . Our path is marked out for us, clear, plain, bright, distinctly defined, like the milky way across the heavens. If we are true to our country, in our day and generation, and those who come after us shall be true to it also, assuredly, assuredly, we shall elevate her to a pitch of prosperity and happiness, of honor and power, never yet reached by any nation beneath the sun."¹¹

It is not without significance that this Whig optimism was closely linked to material development. The Jacksonian optimists were prone to dwell upon the glorious promise of American social and political democracy. Not so the Whigs. Occasionally a Seward or a Webster would emphasize the importance

⁸ *Register of Debates*, 21st Cong., 1st Sess., VI, pt. 1, 438.

⁹ *Niles' Register*, XXXV (Dec. 20, 1828), 259; XXXVII (Dec. 5, 1829), 237, (Feb. 2, 1830), 426.

¹⁰ *State of New York Assembly Doc. No. 1* (62nd Sess.), Seward to the Legislature, Jan. 1, 1839.

¹¹ *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (18 vols., Boston, 1903), II, 64. See Philip Hone, *Diary*, Tuckerman ed. (2 vols., New York, 1889), I, 14, 45; II, 127, for optimism of a Whig businessman.

of self-government or of social improvement by cultural means as bases for confidence in a happy future, but the Whig slogan might well have been: "America is headed for a glorious destiny. It is bound to become the richest and most powerful nation in the world." At the rainbow's end there was definitely a pot of gold.

The happy future of the Whigs was not to be reached by radical or revolutionary steps. It was, rather, to be the result of orderly developments that would be respectful of what the Whigs chose to regard as fundamental rights. When Webster declared in 1834 that "The laws should favor the distribution of property to the end that the number of the very rich and the number of the poor should both be diminished," he was quick to add the proviso, "as far as practicable with the rights of industry and property."¹² This statement may be taken as a very fair representation of Whig dynamic in the direction of "leveling" legislation.

The Whigs were aware, sometimes uncomfortably aware, of the existence of the masses, but they refused to recognize society as divided into distinctly separated groups, and they waxed wroth over what they called Democratic efforts to kindle class hatred. The Whigs recognized the existence of something which they called "the masses," or "the lower classes," but when Webster, or Lawrence, or Nathan Appleton, or Hezekiah Niles spoke of the "laboring classes" they were wont (like our own Arthur Larson¹³) to lump together all who worked—mechanics, farmers, businessmen, and bankers. For there was, according to the Whig philosophy, a natural harmony of interest between all the groups that made up the American social order. Labor and capital were but complements of one another. "If there be any aristocrats in Massachusetts," said Webster, "the people are all aristocrats."

These premises led, naturally enough, to the conclusion that unions were unnecessary and that strikes could be harmful. The Whigs could see the importance of cheap labor, especially where competition in foreign markets was concerned, although they also recognized the social value of good wages and wanted the workers to become the owners of property. They saw the best guarantee of obtaining these desirable goals, however, not in social disturbance but in hard work, sober living, and consistent support of the Whig party and its policies.¹⁴ They held that the opportunities in which America abounded made this course an eminently practicable one.

¹² *Writings and Speeches*, XVI, 241-42. Webster was reported as saying during the Bank controversy that if Congress takes care of the rich, "the rich will take care of the poor." This he denied.

¹³ *A Republican Looks at His Party* (New York, 1956), p. 110.

¹⁴ Lawrence, *Letter to a Committee* (Boston, 1837), pp. 6-12; Niles' Register, XXXVI (Apr.

The Whig attitude toward labor synchronized nicely with their attitude toward suffrage. Generally speaking, they accepted universal manhood suffrage as a "going concern." Occasionally, as in the case of Niles, Seward, or Greeley, a Whig would speak with approval of general male possession of the right to vote. In New York State the Whigs championed the extension of suffrage to Negroes, a proposal that was fought bitterly and successfully by the Democrats. Tocqueville, nevertheless, found the wealthy (the majority of whom were undoubtedly Whigs) secretly opposed to democracy.¹⁵ Some Whig thinkers were openly loath to accept suffrage as a natural right. Even Greeley declared, in 1842, that suffrage was not a right to be acknowledged but a duty to be imposed by those who already possessed it.¹⁶ The Whig editors of the *American Review* repeatedly declared that self-government and popular suffrage were not natural rights. They were privileges and, ideally speaking, should be exercised only by those possessed of property and intelligence. The ignorant and the vicious, said the *Review*, should not feel that they had a *right* to vote; they had the vote simply because there was no remedy that was not worse than the disease.¹⁷ Whig leadership in the Jacksonian period was too realistic to oppose universal manhood suffrage, but its acceptance could scarcely be termed enthusiastic. *Vox Populi Vox Dei* was not a Whig slogan.¹⁸

If the Whigs had reservations about political democracy, they were more than dubious about the health and well-being of the nation's financial system. This attitude derived in part from their natural conservatism, in part from the decidedly fragile nature of Jacksonian economics, and in part from the general economic conditions of the period from 1820 to 1850.

The Jacksonian era was fertile with opportunities for industrial development; it was the heyday of Veblen's Captain of Industry. It was also an era when business was beset by hosts of dangers and difficulties. The early businessman was generally a pioneer. He had to contend with bad communica-

11, 1829), 101; XLVIII (Apr. 24, 1830), 155, (May 22, 1830), 231-32; Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 149-50; III, 175-76, 535; IV, 6, 429, 437; V, 227; XV, 107; Robert L. Carey, *Daniel Webster as an Economist* (New York, 1929), p. 70; *Register of Debates*, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., VIII, pt. 1, 493, speech of Senator Asher Robbins; Appleton, *Labor, Its Relations in Europe and the United States Compared* (Boston, 1844), pp. 3, 4, 10, 16; Springfield, Mass., *Republican*, Aug. 18, Oct. 6, 13, 1838; Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, II, 635.

¹⁵ Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (2 vols., New York, 1945), I, 179-80.

¹⁶ Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *Horace Greeley* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 75.

¹⁷ *American Review*, II (Nov., 1845), 446-48; IV (July, 1846), 29; (Nov. 1846), 442; V (June, 1847), 625.

¹⁸ Typical of this Whig attitude toward the common man was Philip Hone's dislike of unions and of the great unwashed masses (*Diary*, I, 64, 200, 210; II, 69-70). Cf. also Everett's attitude, in 1825 and then in 1850, on the subject of *Vox Populi Vox Dei* (Everett, *Orations and Speeches*, [Boston], 1836 ed., pp. 88-89 and 1850 ed., I, 97, 118-19).

tions, uncertainty in the supply of raw materials, currency confusion, and stiff foreign competition. One may gather from Democratic as well as Whig sources the most dismal pictures of a business class afflicted from 1815 on by an almost constant succession of crises and depressions, with the mad inflation of the middle 1830's thrown in to add chaos to confusion.¹⁹

Added to these business vicissitudes were those imposed by the Jacksonians—the veto of the recharter of the Second Bank of the United States with the destructive impact of that move upon the currency system, the lamentable “pet bank” system, the shock administered by the Specie Circular, the advocacy of the Independent Treasury (a move by which the federal government largely threw overboard its responsibility for regulating the national currency), and the constant onslaughts by large portions of the Democratic press and by Democratic politicians upon paper currency, banks, and the corporate form of business structure.

✓ The Whig leaders, as befitted the representatives of a respectable portion of the business class, had a very lively sense of the importance of a sound financial structure. They could see that there was simply not enough specie in the country to permit its widespread use as a circulating medium. They could see that to force such a currency to any significant extent would not only be extremely inconvenient (as the New York and Connecticut experiments proved) but would also be a most serious handicap to the expansion of business and to the settlement of the West.²⁰ They also saw clearly the value of ✓ the Second Bank of the United States as a means of currency regulation, as an aid through its exchange operations to the development of the nation's commerce, and as a means for injecting at least a measure of honesty into the operations of the state banks. This theme runs through the speeches, messages, letters, and editorials of Webster, of Clay and Seward, of Richard Henry Bayard and Nathan Appleton, of Hezekiah Niles, John P. Kennedy,

¹⁹ *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, V (Feb., 1939), 153 (hereafter cited as *Democratic Review*); Robert Rantoul, *Memoirs, Speeches and Writings* (Boston, 1854), 535–36; Allan Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt* (New York, 1935), pp. 11–14; *House Doc. No. 38*, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1831–32, II, 6; Clive Day, “The Early Development of American Cotton Manufactures,” *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXXIX (May, 1925), 457–58, and *The Rise of Manufacturing in Connecticut, 1820–1850* (New Haven, Conn., n.d.), pp. 20–28; Isaac Lipincott, *A History of Manufactures in the Ohio Valley* (New York, 1914), p. 70; George P. Fuller, “An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State,” *Smith College Studies in History* (Northampton, Mass., 1916), I, 66.

²⁰ Flagg Papers, New York City Public Library, S. Allen to Flagg, May 5, 1837, Jesse Hoyt to Flagg, May 10, 1837 (Azariah C. Flagg was long a power in the Albany Regency and comptroller of New York State, 1834–39 and 1842–46); J. M. Morse, *A Neglected Period of Connecticut History* (New Haven, Conn., 1933), p. 302; H. R. Smith, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1955), pp. 139, 199, 201. Paul W. Gates, “Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie States,” *Journal of Economic History*, I (May, 1942), 62–72, illustrates the West's need of capital.

and Horace Greeley. Again and again one finds this Whig refrain—the country's need of a sound, substantial, government-regulated circulating medium, a judicious mixture of specie and specie-backed paper.²¹

Whig devotion to the principle of a sound currency was paralleled by their interest in credit as a means of fostering the nation's economic life. Credit was necessary to provide for the industrial expansion of the East, to give the Southern planter an opportunity for expanding into the cotton lands of the Southwest, and to develop, agriculturally and industrially, the whole vast Western region. It was important that this credit be ample; it was equally important that it be sound. The best way to provide credit was through the bank credits available in a well-managed banking system.²²

The Whig leaders were aware of these fundamental principles. Nathan Appleton subscribed to them when he helped found the Suffolk bank system, which furnished a firm credit basis for New England's industrial expansion. Seward in New York and young Abraham Lincoln in Illinois alike based their support of the principle of a national bank, modified and safeguarded to protect the public interest, squarely upon the country's need for credit. Thomas Corwin saw good credit facilities as essential to the development of the West. "We owe more to credit and to commercial confidence," said Webster in 1838, "than any nation that ever existed; and ten times more than any nation, except England." Whig statesmen generally had a very clear conception of the part which sound credit plays in a nation's development.²³

Zeal for a stable currency and ample credit facilities demonstrated Whig concern for the prosperity of the economy in general and of the business class in particular. In line with this attitude was the Whig position in regard to corporations, those "monopolistic" structures which were beginning to appear

²¹ The regulation favored by the Whigs was sometimes by national, sometimes by state, action. Nationally, it would be through the charter provisions for a national bank; in the states, by legislative regulation of state banks. It is not without interest that, at one time or another, both Webster and John Quincy Adams favored eliminating small bills from circulation (Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, VI, 133; Adams, *Memoirs* [12 vols., Philadelphia, 1874-77], IX, 135, 237; see also *Niles' Register*, XLVI [Mar. 8, 1834], 20). It was certainly ironical, as John J. Crittenden pointed out, that Benton should accuse the Whigs of loving paper money while at the same time the Democratic destruction of the Bank of the United States was multiplying the issues of doubtful bank paper throughout the country (*Register of Debates*, 24th Cong., 2d Sess., XIII, pt. 1, 76-77).

²² *McLane Report*, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 1831-32, *House Doc. No. 308*, II, 861; Guy S. Callender, "Early Transportation and Banking," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII (Nov., 1902), 114-31; Lippincott, *History of Manufactures*, p. 149.

²³ Arthur B. Darling, *Political Changes in Massachusetts, 1824-28* (New Haven, Conn., 1925), pp. 14-15; Nathan Appleton, *Remarks on Currency and Banking* (Boston, 1841), p. 13; William H. Seward, *Works* (5 vols., New York, 1853-84), I, 31-33; II, 198-99; Roy Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1953), I, 160-62; Josiah Morrow, ed., *Life and Speeches of Thomas Corwin* (Cincinnati, 1896), pp. 105-82; *Cong. Globe*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, 603, col. 3, Webster on the Sub-Treasury, Jan. 31, 1838.

with increasing frequency in American society during the Jacksonian period.

It is perhaps significant that the evidence regarding the Whigs and corporations is not abundant. The party leaders were never vociferous about the Democratic hue and cry over these combinations of capital. Occasionally a prominent Whig like Hezekiah Niles or William Henry Seward would even sound a note of caution regarding them,²⁴ but when the Whigs did express themselves, it was usually in favor of the corporate form.

The great Whig orator, Edward Everett, linked the accumulation of capital by corporations with the development of the nation's wealth and welfare.²⁵ John Quincy Adams evidently saw no harm in corporations. He regarded the Bank of the United States as a corporation entitled to all the rights before the law that a person would have, and he clearly implied that it should be regarded as under the protection of the fifth amendment.²⁶ Webster was quick to see the usefulness of the corporation in a country where capital was scarce and where economy in production was a much to be desired goal. The corporation, Webster held, not only increased property but also tended to "equalize it, to diffuse it, to scatter its advantages among the many, and to give content, cheerfulness, and animation to all classes of the social system." It was of special use to the laborer because it increased his earnings and thereby put him in the way of himself becoming a capitalist.²⁷ The *American Review*, in 1846, declared itself opposed to monopoly, of which it could detect some traces among the banks, but took the position that corporations in general were far from monopolistic. Everyone had the right to join them by purchasing their stock, and the *Review* implied that they were necessary to the development of the American economy.²⁸

Viewed in historical perspective, the development of the corporation *was* essential if the country was to take that course of development which has made its economy one of the wonders of the modern world. The great permanent investments required to establish industrial concerns and banks and to build railroads and canals could scarcely have been acquired in any other way than by corporate accumulation, especially in view of the already well-developed American devotion to private enterprise and the lessons in foolhardy state expenditure that were brought home by the panic of 1837.²⁹

²⁴ Niles' *Register*, XXXV (Dec. 21, 1828), 262; Seward, *Autobiography* (New York, 1891), p. 94; *Works*, II, 318.

²⁵ Everett, *Orations and Speeches* (Boston, 1870), pp. 294-95, 297 (a speech in Boston, Sept. 13, 1838).

²⁶ *Register of Debates*, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess., X, pt. 3, 3494-95, Apr. 4, 1834.

²⁷ *Writings and Speeches*, XIII, 72-76 (Nov. 11, 1836).

²⁸ IV (Dec., 1846), 639-40.

²⁹ Adolf Berle and Gardiner C. Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, 1932), p. 4; Lewis H. Haney, *Business Organization and Combination* (New York, 1934)

It is true that corporation charters, which were first granted largely by special acts of the state legislatures, often involved legislative corruption and sometimes guaranteed monopolistic or quasi-monopolistic privileges to the corporation involved. It is also true that the notes of banking corporations were not infrequently circulated at considerably less than their face value. Wage payments in such bank notes bred a hearty dislike of banks in general, and to many wage earners, as to Jackson himself, such terms as "corporation," "bank," and "monopoly" came close to being synonymous as well as opprobrious epithets, especially since the Dartmouth College case decision (1819) protected corporation charters from assaults by state legislatures.

But there was another side to the story of corporation charters. The amount of private capital was so small, and the need for economic development so great, that Democrats as well as Whigs encouraged corporations to develop. In Pennsylvania, even as the Democrats pointed the finger of scorn at "monopolies," they voted "yea" on scores of corporation charters. In New York during the 1830's Democratic legislators were conspicuous in their support of railroad corporation charters, and, in the words of Azariah Flagg, these same Democrats chartered banking monopolies "as if propelled by steam power."³⁰ The weight of the evidence indicates that the Democratic outcry against "monopoly" magnified its evils for the sake of political capital.³¹

Another reason for questioning the validity of the outcry against monopolies is the fact that the incorporated organizations (chiefly banks and internal improvement and manufacturing companies) were generally of modest size and, by their very nature, could scarcely be monopolistic. The banks bore the brunt of the monopoly charge, but the great majority of banking and insurance companies "were small concerns with less than \$100,000 capital," and most of the manufacturing companies were still smaller. As the state banks

p. 115; Louis C. Hunter, "Financial Problems of the Early Pittsburgh Iron Manufacturers," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, II (May, 1930), 520-44. Seventy-five years later Samuel Gompers (*Labor and the Common Welfare* [New York, 1919], pp. 90-91) recognized that the development of the corporate form was essential to the building of the modern American industrial structure.

³⁰ Flagg Papers, [A. Flagg] to "My Dear Sir," Dec. 20, 1838; Hartz, *Economic Policy and Democratic Thought, Pennsylvania, 1800-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 62-79; William Miller, "A Note on the History of Business Corporations in Pennsylvania, 1800-1860," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LV (Nov., 1940), 150-60.

³¹ One of the aims of Democratic politicians in this period was to make it appear that there was a clear-cut distinction between the parties, that all aristocrats and Old Federalists were Whigs and all the genuine democrats Jacksonians. Michael Hoffman wrote to Azariah Flagg, Nov. 3, 1828 (Flagg Papers), bemoaning the tendency of the "Morgan affair" to blur this desirable distinction between the parties. It was, therefore, often much to the advantage of the Jacksonians to pose as the defenders of the people against these horrid contrivances of wealthy business interests.

multiplied, they tended to lose such monopolistic privileges as they possessed, and even the Second Bank of the United States, as Walter B. Smith clearly demonstrates, was not monopolistic.³²

The devitalization of "monopoly" occasioned by the increasing competition among banks was furthered by the appearance of means for controlling the privileges granted in charters. In one state after another, New York and Delaware for example, constitutional revisions provided for changing or repealing corporation charters,³³ and the Supreme Court decision in *Ogden v. Saunders* (1827), as Marshall's dissent clearly recognized, vitiated the obligation of contract clause in the Constitution, the clause upon which the Dartmouth College decision had rested.³⁴

Still another means of handling the problem of individual charters had begun to develop, even before the 1830's. Acts of free incorporation for banks and other business concerns, acts generally welcomed by the business class, began to appear. New York State had such a law as early as 1811 for certain types of manufacturing companies. Webster, in 1836, supported the general incorporation act for manufacturers in Massachusetts. In 1837 the Hinsdale Act of General Incorporation for business was passed by the Connecticut legislature. It was a bipartisan act. In 1838 the New York State legislature passed a free banking act which destroyed whatever there was of monopoly in banking in the state. Governor Marcy, a Democrat, was for free banking, and Democrat Churchill C. Cambreleng applauded the measure in Congress; but the law was, nevertheless, a Whig law. The great majority of the Democrats in the New York State legislature voted against it, and the *Democratic Review* denounced it as a Whig trick.³⁵

³² Callender, "Early Transportation and Banking," pp. 148-49, 154-56; William C. Kessler, "A Statistical Study of the New York General Incorporation Act of 1811," *Journal of Political Economy*, XLVIII (Dec., 1940), 877-80; Smith, *Economic Aspects of the Second Bank of the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 251. Smith points out that in 1830, when the Bank of the United States was very prosperous, it made only 20 per cent of the total bank loans, its note circulation was only about one fifth of the total, it had only one third of the total bank deposits, and it held only about one third of the specie held by American banks.

³³ Carl R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man* (New York, 1927), pp. 50-61; Alfred Russell, *The Police Power of the State* (Chicago, 1900), p. 119.

³⁴ *Ogden v. Saunders* upheld the validity of state insolvent laws enacted after the date of contracts. Marshall contended that the decision established the principle that a law could enter into a contract so completely as to become a part of it. "If," said Marshall, "one law enters into all subsequent contracts, so does every other law which relates to the subject. A legislative act, then, declaring that all contracts should be subject to legislative control and should be discharged as the legislature might prescribe, would become a component part of every contract, and be one of its conditions." This, Marshall argued, would "prostrate" the obligation of contract clause in the Constitution. *Ogden v. Saunders*, Wheaton 12:332-58, especially 338-40 and 355-58; Charles A. Beard, *Contemporary American History, 1877-1913* (New York, 1914), pp. 55-56; Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History* (2 vols., Boston, 1928), I, 686-93; Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935), p. 349.

³⁵ Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, XIII, 72-74; Hammond, "Free Banks and Corporations: The New York Free Banking Act of 1838," *Journal of Political Economy*, XLIV (Apr., 1936),

Free incorporation was no more a Democratic monopoly than was the corporation a Whig monopoly. Both were born out of the exigencies of the times. The chief difference between the Democrats and the Whigs on corporations was that the latter were more forthright than the former in their attitude toward this social instrument.

The Whig concept of government embraced other uses than those involved in establishing a sound currency, ample credit, and the corporate form of business activity. Government, the Whigs held, should always be regarded as an instrument for the promotion of the general welfare and was, therefore, susceptible to a great variety of uses. Webster professed himself aghast when, in September, 1837, President Van Buren warned that "all communities are apt to look to government too much," declared that relieving mercantile embarrassments or interfering with ordinary commercial operations would be unconstitutional, and proposed, by means of the Independent Treasury, to divorce the government from all relationship to banking. "I feel," said Webster, "as if I were on some other sphere, as if I were not at home, as if this could not be America when I see schemes of public policy proposed, having for their object the convenience of Government only, and leaving the people to shift for themselves. . . ."³⁶ It is a not unwarrantable conjecture that Franklin D. Roosevelt, had he been miraculously transported back into the 1830's, would have shared Webster's dismay. For the Whig attitude toward the function of government, at least on the national level, bears a closer resemblance to that of the New Deal than did the attitude toward government of Jackson and Van Buren.

Government, said Webster and the other Whig leaders of the North and West, was there to be used. Adams, Clay, Seward, Corwin, Niles, and the young Lincoln deemed it the duty of government to nurture the well-being of all classes of the people.

The Whigs looked upon the state governments as proper agencies for promoting the welfare of society. State governments controlled by Whigs were generous in making grants for roads and canals. The records of leading Whigs, from Webster's speeches to Hezekiah Niles' *Register*, show a general disposition to favor state grants—and state ownership as well. Samuel Ruggles was scornful of the idea that government should restrict itself to protecting

184-96; Morse, *Connecticut History*, pp. 297-302; *Cong. Globe*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, 598, col. 2, Biddle on the Sub-Treasury, May 15, 1838; *Democratic Review*, V (May, 1839), 427-46. The New York banking act required conformity to certain specified banking standards.

³⁶ James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents* (Washington, D. C., 1899), III, 324-46; *Cong. Globe*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, 606, col. 3, Webster on the Sub-Treasury, Jan. 31, 1838.

life, liberty, and property. Seward was enthusiastic over state development of free education, prison reform, care of the insane, provision for the blind, the deaf, and the dumb; he became almost lyrical when contemplating the social results of internal improvements constructed by the state of New York. He even argued, in 1840, that expenditures for internal improvements should be continued because they were important means of sustaining the purchasing power of the masses and therefore were a benefit to the population of the state as a whole.³⁷

One of the most important spheres of state action, according to the Whigs, was education, for the social value of schooling was a cardinal point in Whig philosophy. Education, the Whigs held, was essential if a democratic government was to function properly: it went hand in hand with the building of moral character; by unleashing individual potential it would help to establish that equality of condition so important in preserving a sound and vigorous democracy; it would foster intelligence and invention and thereby develop the country's productive power.

There was, perhaps, an element of sophistry here—a belief on the part of some that education, properly handled, would serve as the opiate of the people—but, if so, it was not apparent in the writings or speeches of the Whig leaders. "I have no fear of the people learning and knowing too much," said Abbott Lawrence, who evidently pinned his faith on Christian morality as a counterbalance to any dangerous ideas that might develop in the school-room, and this appears to have been the prevailing attitude among the Whigs.³⁸

If state governments were useful as social agencies, the national government was even more so to the Whigs, for it was only through the agency of the national government that Clay's American System could really come into being. With that system in operation, the tariff, by stimulating the manufacturing interest, would build up a market for agriculture and provide

³⁷ Rantoul, *Memoirs*, p. 150; Samuel B. Ruggles, *Report* (Boston, 1841), p. 61; *New York State Assembly Doc. No. 1*, 62nd Sess., 18–23, Seward to the Legislature, Jan. 1, 1839; Basler, *Works of Lincoln*, I, 40; Seward, *Works*, II, 212–25; *Niles' Register*, XXXVI (Aug. 22, 1829), 414; XXXVIII (Jan. 26 and June 26, 1830), 317–19; XLIII (Nov. 10, 1832), 177; Dorfman, *Economic Mind*, II, 624.

³⁸ Lawrence, *Letters from the Hon. Abbott Lawrence to the Hon. William C. Rives* (Boston, 1846), pp. 5–7; Springfield, Mass., *Republican*, Aug. 3, 1839; Arthur A. Ekirch, *The Idea of Progress in America, 1815–1860* (New York, 1951), pp. 187–88; Morse, *Connecticut History*, pp. 306–307; Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 13, 253; *New York State Assembly Doc. No. 1*, 62nd Sess., 24–28, Seward to the Legislature, Jan. 1, 1839; Ruggles, *Report*, p. 7; Everett, *Orations and Speeches*, I, 307–28; II, 313–24, 335–62, 493–518; anon., *Importance of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge* (New York, 1847); Paul R. Frothingham, *Edward Everett* (Boston, 1925), pp. 136, 138–39; *Niles' Register*, XXXV (Nov. 22, 1828), 193, (Jan. 1, 1829), 361; XXXVII (Sept. 19, 1829), 49.

a great impetus to internal commerce. Distribution of the revenues from public land sales would hasten internal improvements and aid the states in making the contributions to the well-being of the people that lay within their province. Internal improvements would create a veritable commercial revolution (they did just that) by facilitating marketing of agricultural and industrial goods in all sections of the country. The chartering of a new national bank would provide the stabilization, at desirable levels, of currency and credit. Thus would be provided, through governmental activity, a harmonization of interests and a fructification of national wealth and power.

Nor was the American System the only means, in Whig eyes, by which the national government could exert a constructive influence upon society. Seward saw great benefit to be derived from commercial treaties that would foster international trade. He held it the duty of the national government, in times of stress and strain, to establish uniform bankruptcy laws and to give direct help to the states whose credit had been shattered by depression. Senator Richard Henry Bayard, speaking in 1838, demanded a construction of the welfare clause in the Constitution broad enough to enable the national government to use its taxing power for the promotion of the general well-being. Webster believed that the government not only should act to stimulate private enterprise; it could and should, when occasion arose, place restrictions on private property "for the good of the whole community." It should take a comprehensive view of the needs of the country, he said in 1833, and then should proceed to do for the people and the states what they could not do for themselves.³⁹ Senator John P. Kennedy of Maryland, pleading for federal control of the banking system as both traditional and wise, declared that "without it, no system of banking could be devised that would be tolerated by the country." He lamented states' rights scruples about the employment of the federal government in the peoples' interest and urged Virginia to give up her dialectics and not, as Henry A. Wise put it, "die of an abstraction."⁴⁰ It is clear that belief in the federal government as an active agency in promoting the welfare of the nation was a cardinal principle of Whig thought.

It is, I think, significant that Whig thought in the Jacksonian period was so nationalistic in character. The advocates of protection were continually arguing that a high tariff was valuable because it benefited the country as a whole. John Quincy Adams' nationalist point of view has been conclusively

³⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, 623-27, Mar. 9-10, 1838; Current, *Daniel Webster*, pp. 105-106; Webster, *Writings and Speeches*, II, 154 (Pittsburgh speech, July 8, 1833).

⁴⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 25th Cong., 2d Sess., Appendix, 594, col. 3, speech on the Sub-Treasury, June 22, 1838.

demonstrated by Samuel F. Bemis.⁴¹ It never appeared more clearly than in Adams' vision of the role of internal improvements as a means of binding the Union together.⁴² Henry Clay believed with all the ardor of his impetuous nature that the American System was a national system, one that would bring a shower of blessings upon all parts of the Union. Webster spoke repeatedly of the existence within the nation of a harmony of interests, of the "stake in society" held by all citizens. His aim, and that of the Whigs, he constantly proclaimed, was to increase the stake of the ordinary citizen and so to promote the harmony and strength of the Union. Similar concepts are to be found in the Samuel B. Ruggles *Report* of 1838 to the New York legislature, in the writings and speeches of Edward Everett, Abbott Lawrence, Thomas Corwin, Hezekiah Niles, and Abraham Lincoln, and in the often fusty pages of the *American Review*. The thought of both William Henry Seward and Horace Greeley was essentially nationalistic in character.⁴³

Whig nationalism was predominantly economic in form. It showed little trace of any constructive international outlook. It was as broad as the nation—no broader. But, within its limits, the Whig nationalists were dynamic and forward-looking, envisioning progress for all classes of society, and their ideas on banking, currency, internal improvements, and government spending were considerably ahead of their time.

A myth that has gained currency in modern historical thought is that the Whigs and the Democrats stood diametrically opposed during the Jacksonian period—that the Whigs represented a grasping, narrow-minded, money-conscious business class, while the Democrats, ever mindful of the demands of social justice, fought for the rights of the common man. To a certain extent, this myth has a basis in reality. The Jacksonian Democrats professed to be, and many of them were, more interested in political democracy, in social justice, and in the maintenance of a general condition of liberty and equality than were the Whigs. Many of them accepted the Jeffersonian dictum that political democracy, if it were to flourish and endure, must be securely based upon economic democracy. They were more alive than were the Whigs to the potential menace of privilege that existed in specially chartered corporations and particularly in the Second Bank of the United States, and it is certainly

⁴¹ John Quincy Adams and the Union (New York, 1956), *passim*.

⁴² Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII, 316, 229, 536; Adrienne Koch and William Peden, eds., *The Selected Writings of John Quincy Adams* (New York, 1946), p. 389. Even Jackson's famous toast to the Union failed to allay Adams' fears that Old Hickory would somehow, some way, destroy the strength of the central government.

⁴³ See particularly Everett, *Orations and Speeches*, I, 196; II, 144–45; Frothingham, *Edward Everett*, p. 119; Van Deusen, "The Nationalism of Horace Greeley," in *Nationalism and Internationalism*, ed. Edward M. Earle (New York, 1950), pp. 431–54.

possible to argue that the Democracy acted as a salutary restraint upon the "Captains of Industry" and the probusiness leaders of the Whigs.

But even their most ardent admirers must admit that, if the Jacksonians were the heirs of Jeffersonian idealism, they were also the heirs of Jeffersonian agrarianism, strict construction, and the neophysiocratic ideas of John Taylor of Caroline, concepts which lay like a heavy hand upon their shoulders. Yearning for the equality that can be found, alas, only in simple societies, the Jacksonians sought it by attempting to destroy all privilege, real or fancied. At the same time, their narrow view of the function of the national government repeatedly kept them from using the government for constructive ends.⁴⁴ They turned a suspicious eye, and sometimes a warring hand, upon the new economic order that was shaping around them. In the name of liberty and equal rights, they destroyed the Second Bank of the United States, and thus did much to turn a nation that had been in the van of progressive banking development into a nation whose banking practices lagged well behind those of western Europe.⁴⁵ Their hard money ideas were negative and inadequate for dealing with the problem at hand—how to establish a currency and credit that would be both sound and ample. The Independent Treasury was also negative in character, a semiretreat from the national government's constitutional duty of currency regulation.

The Whigs, on the other hand, were less interested than were the Democrats in the constant maintenance of equality and less alive to the potential threat to equality of opportunity that lay in the great bank and in the corporate form. Anxious to leave the road open to those with vision and merit, they were too prone to stress the "stake in society" concept, too prone to visualize social harmony and justice as goals that would be almost automatically attained if the economic order developed to their liking. But they did grasp more clearly than did the Democratic leadership the value of sound economic practice, whether in basic aspects of finance or in the development of the corporate form of business organization.

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the Whig and Democratic parties of the Jacksonian period were at opposite poles of political or even economic thought. They were very evenly balanced in numerical strength, a fact that in itself indicated a lack of division along class lines. The *Democratic Review* declared in 1839 that it was on the rural elements "that

⁴⁴ A classic exposition of this general point of view is to be found in the *Democratic Review*, VI (Sept., 1839), 208-17.

⁴⁵ Smith, *Economic Aspects of the Second Bank of the United States*, p. 263; Oliver M. W. Sprague, "Branch Banking in the United States," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII (Nov., 1902), 242-45.

the main reliance of our party has always rested"; that in the towns and cities not only the mercantile and professional classes, but "extensive" elements, a "large proportion," of the laboring class were Whig; and that this had been so from the time of Jackson's first election.⁴⁶ Modern research tells us how often businessmen and bankers voted Democratic and how frequently laborers and farmers ranged themselves under the Whig banner. We know how strong protectionist sentiment was among the Democrats of New England and Pennsylvania; we know that there were many Democrats in these same areas who supported the Second Bank of the United States; we know that many of the state banks supported the Democratic party and were in turn supported by it.⁴⁷

The composition of the parties shows class lines definitely blurred—one may even say almost completely blurred. The stand of the parties on major issues shows some rather interesting similarities of aim. Both parties wanted a sound financial system. Both favored free banking and, generally, free incorporation for business firms.⁴⁸ Both accepted universal manhood suffrage and both believed in education for the common man. Both used the spoils system, while decrying its use by the opposition. Neither, it may be added,

⁴⁶ *Democratic Review*, VI (Dec., 1839), 500-502.

⁴⁷ W. Dean Burnham, *Presidential Ballots, 1836-1892* (Baltimore, 1955), pp. 1-10, 15-20, 163 ff.; see *Tribune Almanac*, I (New York, 1868), *passim*, for the large Whig vote rolled up in the agricultural areas and for scattered but significant voting statistics. As to the working class votes, see *Democratic Review*, VI (Dec., 1839), 500, 502; William A. Sullivan, *The Industrial Worker in Pennsylvania, 1800-1840* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1955), pp. 159-207, and "Did Labor Support Andrew Jackson?" *Political Science Quarterly*, LXII (Dec., 1947), 575-80; Edward Pessen, "Did Labor Support Jackson: The Boston Story," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXIV (June, 1949), 262-74; William Trimble, "Diverging Tendencies in New York Democracy in the Period of the Locofocos," *American Historical Review*, XXIV (Apr., 1919), 396-421; Darling, "The Workingmen's Party in Massachusetts," and "Jacksonian Democracy in Massachusetts," *American Historical Review*, XXIX (Oct., 1923), 81-86 and (Jan., 1924), 271-87; Andrew C. McLaughlin and Albert B. Hart, *Cyclopedia of American Government* (3 vols., New York, 1914), III, 23-26. Gubernatorial and congressional elections in the various states show the parties divided at the most by a few thousand votes. In the presidential election of 1836 the three Whig candidates received 49 per cent of the total vote while Van Buren mustered 50.8 per cent, scarcely a landslide victory. In 1840 Harrison had 52.8 per cent of the total, Van Buren 46.8 per cent, Birney .4 of 1 per cent. In 1844 Polk had 49.3 per cent of the total, Clay 48.1 per cent, and Birney 2.3 per cent. In 1848 Taylor had 47.3 per cent, Cass 42.5 per cent, Van Buren 10.01 per cent. An analysis of the vote on the recharter of the Second Bank of the United States shows 41 of the 141 Jacksonian Democrats in Congress voting for the Bank and shows the very considerable strength the Bank had among the Democrats of New England and the Middle Atlantic states. "Ike" Hill was out to get votes for Jackson in the campaign of 1828 and would have been as quick to plaster the opposition as the tool of vested interests as he was to plaster it with the epithet "Federalist." But if Hill really was convinced that the business class, as such, had interests opposed to those of the people, his *New Hampshire Patriot* did not disclose the fact.

⁴⁸ The Democrats argued that the Sub-Treasury, by collecting revenues only in specie, would effectively create a sound currency. See *Democratic Review*, III (Nov., 1838), 227. The *Democratic Review* declared repeatedly that the Democratic party was not opposed to corporations as such, but only to the monopolistic abuses that derived from special charters. See especially II (June, 1838), 212; V (Jan., 1839), 97-98, (Feb., 1839), 152; IX (Dec., 1841), 579.

did anything substantial to satisfy the crying need of the small farmer and the small businessman for long-term credits at moderate rates of interest. The divergencies that existed, and there were divergencies, were more over means than over ultimate ends. Thus the Democrats stressed the importance of safeguarding the liberty and the equality of opportunity of the common man; the Whigs saw as of paramount importance a national economic growth that would raise the general level of prosperity and thus develop the opportunities and promote the happiness of the individual members of society. Both sought the prosperity of the people as a whole, and both parties oriented, just as the two major parties do today, around a middle-class norm.

The view of the parties which I have just outlined was not unknown in the Jacksonian period. It is implicit in Tocqueville's description of the American political system,⁴⁹ and it was acknowledged as just by men of judgment within the Democratic party itself.

In the summer of 1832, that hectic presidential election year, Robert Rantoul, lawyer-reformer, Jackson supporter, antagonist of corporations, upholder of the Bank veto, had this to say of the parties:

We cannot help admitting the obvious truths, that our party contests have not that intrinsic importance, with which the lively fancies of the heated partisans often invest them; that they are often in a great degree struggles for office, and that if the party out of power always strives to fight itself in, by the vindication on all occasions of certain leading popular principles, it is by no means certain how far those principles will be exemplified in its practice after it shall have prevailed by zealously professing them. That, however great may be the inconsistencies in the political conduct of individuals, even if beyond parallel in any other country, still the fluctuations of the government are temporary, and of lesser magnitude than they at first appear to be.⁵⁰

Five years later, the *Democratic Review*, official organ of the Democratic party, stated in its first issue a similar point of view:

There is a great deal of mutual misunderstanding between our two parties; but in truth, there does not exist in the people, with reference to its great masses, that irreconcilable hostility of opinions and leading principles which would be the natural inference from the violence of the party warfare in which we are perpetually engaged.⁵¹

Again, in 1842, the *Democratic Review* acknowledged that among "vast numbers" of the Whigs, a "considerable portion" of that party, there was to be found "as much of the democratic sentiment and spirit as among any portion of our own [party]."⁵²

⁴⁹ *Democracy in America*, I, 177-78.

⁵⁰ Rantoul, *Memoirs*, p. 175.

⁵¹ I (Oct., 1837), 1.

⁵² XI (July, 1842), 96.

✓ The political conflicts of the Jacksonian period were fought more often with a view to gaining control of the government than out of devotion to diametrically opposed political and social ideals. "We are," wrote Levi Woodbury to Azariah Flagg in 1834, "but *one* people and . . . the success of a part is in some degree the success of the whole."⁵³ A realization of the fact that this was the case in Woodbury's day as well as in our own will help us to better understand both Whig and Democratic thought and theory in the Jacksonian period.

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⁵³ Flagg Papers, Woodbury to Flagg, Jan. 22, 1834.

Tory Paternalism and Social Reform in Early Victorian England

DAVID ROBERTS

MUCH has been written about the theories and principles of Tory paternalism in England, but little has been said about its practice. Samuel Taylor Coleridge in his later writings gave eloquent and profound expression to its principles; Robert Southey in his *Colloquies on the Progress of Society* espoused them with warmth and imagination. In 1838 William Gladstone, still a very earnest Tory, reaffirmed the ecclesiastical ideals of Coleridge in his famous discussion of *The State in Its Relations with the Church*. Twelve years later Thomas Carlyle declared war against liberalism by writing his *Latter Day Pamphlets*, in which he fulminated against those who worship mammon. Benjamin Disraeli in his novels *Sybil* and *Coningsby* dressed Tory paternalism in a gallant and chivalrous costume and taught more than one generation to admire its lofty sentiments.

The ideas of these writers, varied and complex as they are, have caught the imagination of a distinguished array of historians and political philosophers. Alfred Cobban, Crane Brinton, and R. J. White have written brilliantly, and at times sympathetically, about them. But it has remained for the new conservatives of our age to write about them in a spirit of hallowed veneration. Anxious to construct a political philosophy to clothe the present conservative temper of America, they have looked back to the humanitarian, Christian, and romantic philosophy of Coleridge and Southey. Clinton Rossiter in *Conservatism in America* expresses his admiration for Coleridge and Disraeli. Peter Viereck in *Conservatism Revisited* praises that English conservatism which "tends to put social justice ahead of laissez faire." Neither of them, however, gives such praise to Tory paternalism as does Russell Kirk. In *The Conservative Mind*, Kirk draws once again the classic picture of Tory paternalism pitted against an unsentimental liberalism, a picture familiar to all who have read Monypenny and Buckle's *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, or Wingfield-Stratford's *History of British Civilization*, or even Keith Feiling's recent *History of England*. In redrawing this picture Kirk has added color; it now has its heroes and its villains, contesting for the souls of men and struggling to control the destinies of the new industrial society. The backdrop to this drama is a scene of grim factory towns with overworked

children, squalid slums, and unsightly mills. The *dramatis personae* include the Benthamites, unfeeling and rational; the Whig aristocracy, jaunty and indifferent, and the hard and pious Manchester Liberals. All of them argue for an atomized society built on self-interest, *laissez faire*, and that utilitarianism which Kirk calls "the surly apology of a hideous and rapacious industrialism." Contending against these Benthamites, Whigs, and Liberals are the Tories, alarmed at the cruelty of life in factory towns, "these fungous excrescences on the body politic," as Southey said. Not only do the Tories see the evil, they are also possessed of a vision of an organic, benevolent society, which will remove cruelty and ugliness and neglect. To the fashioning of this society in England they are solemnly dedicated.

But in all this discussion, few writers have asked whether the Tories did translate these ideals into practice, whether they did contribute to the well-being of the working class. The answer to this question comes up immediately against an imposing difficulty. The principles of Tory paternalism do not lend themselves to effective legislation or improved administration. Coleridge, the most profound and influential of these theorists, looked to the moral regeneration of the individual, not to the reforming state, and he envisaged the Church of England as the head of a paternalistic society. He despised what he called "act of Parliament reforms," and he exalted the Church as much as he feared the state. In a complex industrial society, nearly one third of whose churchgoers were Nonconformists, this scorn of legislation and this loyalty to a single church bode ill for effective reforms. Carlyle's fierce sermons and Disraeli's literary dreams were no easier to translate into legislation. They offered little practical guidance to successive Parliaments facing hard and intractable social problems. They offered no alternative to the old poor law, which had pauperized and demoralized the agricultural laborer; they offered no means to prevent the exploitation of children in textile mills; they did not say how slums were to be removed, slums in which an illiterate proletariat lived in misery, disease, and vice, unrelieved by any serious attempt at education and sanitation. Coleridge and Southey may have placed their faith in charitable endowments and church schools, but these voluntary efforts were powerless to stop the rising tide of distress and ignorance. The workers themselves preferred to place their faith in gin, crime, and chartism. "Civilization is threatened," said Thomas Macaulay, "by the barbarism it has engendered."

The existence of these problems furnished the Tories both in and out of Parliament an undoubted opportunity to translate whatever humanitarian ideas they cherished into effective reforms. As members of Parliament, as

justices of the peace, as members of voluntary societies, and as agitators for factory reform, they could mitigate the harsher evils of the new industrial society. Their activities were in fact diverse and widespread. The Tory party was no homogeneous unit, no few men in Parliament. It included, though many a Tory wished it did not, the Yorkshire Tory Radicals, the Oastlers, Sadlers, Stephens, and Ferrands, men who carried Tory paternalism into the short time committees and anti-poor law associations. That these men cared genuinely for the well-being of the factory workers and the poor and fought zealously for shorter working hours and generous poor relief has been ably demonstrated in Cecil Driver's biography of Richard Oastler and in R. H. Hill's *Toryism and the People, 1833-1846*. But other than Ferrand, none of these Tory Radicals sat in Parliament after 1833, and Ferrand himself was viewed with suspicion. The Yorkshire Tory Radicals were never accepted by the bulk of respectable Tories. They were too violent in speech and too ardent for popular causes to join what Disraeli called the "smartest club in town." Yet it was to that club that England's Conservatives returned their favorites, and it was in its halls that the Tories, diverse as they were, had the best opportunity to make their humanitarianism effective. And though the debates and votes of the Parliamentary Tories do not tell the whole story of Tory paternalism, they certainly form a solid enough test to merit close examination. Of what avail Oastler's unflagging zeal for the ten hour day if Parliamentary Tories refused to support it.

The greatest of Tory social reformers, Lord Ashley, realized this fact when he proposed a bill to end the exploitation of children and adults in the cotton mills of England. His bill would have excluded from textile mills all children below nine and restricted all other workers to a ten hour day. It was the bill which the workers wanted, one for which two Tory Radicals, Richard Oastler and Michael Sadler had aroused the North. But it did not win the support of the leaders of the Conservative party nor of the bulk of the 150 Conservatives who sat in the Commons. The most vocal in urging its passage were not Conservatives at all but were either Radicals like John Fielden, Joseph Brotherton, and John Hardy, or Liberals like Thomas Attwood and Colonel Torrens. These men did not represent the squirearchy; they represented Oldham, Salford, Bradford, Bolton, and Birmingham. No one party supported Lord Ashley's fight for the ten hour bill, and no one party supported the bill which passed in its stead.¹ This bill, drawn up by

¹ T. C. Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates of Great Britain*, 3d ser. (hereafter cited as Hansard) 1833, XV, 1160; XVI, 642, 1002; XVII, 79-114; XX, 449, 527, 576, 583. G. Kitson Clark, in *Peel and the Conservative Party* (London, 1929) notes the heterogeneous nature of the ten hour men in the Commons and the failure of the Conservative leaders to support the bill (p. 141).

two Benthamites, Edwin Chadwick and Southwood Smith, excluded all children below nine from the mills, limited the hours of labor to eight for children between nine and thirteen, and employed central inspectors to enforce the act. The principle of inspection, which alone would make the legislation effective, was repellent to Oastler and Sadler;² it was a principle drawn from Bentham's *Constitutional Code*, it meant centralization, and it was un-English. The first and most significant measure for industrial regulation thus came from many traditions: Tory evangelicals gave it impetus, the utilitarians defined its form, and the Whigs, masters at compromise, passed it through Parliament. It was not, as Peter Viereck would like to believe, a Tory measure.

Neither can the new poor law of 1834, with its harsh workhouse test for relief, be blamed on the Whigs alone, though that is what the Tories did at the hustings in 1837 and 1841.³ Tory support of this measure is unmistakable. Not one of their leaders spoke against it, and on the second division only two representatives of the county squirearchy, the stronghold of the Tories, opposed it.⁴ On the third division only eleven of the 150 Tories in the Commons were part of the fifty M. P.'s who voted against it. More Liberals than Tories entered the opposition lobby. Even the Radicals, far fewer than the Tories in the Commons, mustered a dozen members against it. Furthermore, it was also the Radicals from the northern boroughs, the Brothertons and Fieldens, and not the Tories, who spoke most frequently and ardently for the rights of the poor⁵ and opposed most consistently the measure which Disraeli in 1837 called "a moral crime and a political blunder." The harshness of the measure came in its insistence that all relief to able-bodied paupers be given in workhouses. Yet on the amendment to allow local authorities to give outdoor instead of workhouse relief, the Tories counted only nine of the thirty who supported it. The workhouse test, which the Tories' *Quarterly Review* had supported in 1832, seemed no more objectionable to the House of Lords than to the Commons, and the measure passed the upper house easily.⁶ Tory peers, like Tory squires, knew that poor rates, now totalling seven million pounds, imposed the heaviest direct tax levied in the country and that if these oppressive rates were to be lowered reform had to come, and effective

² John Drinkwater, *Letter to Michael Sadler* (London, 1833), p. 4; *London Times*, Feb. 29, 1844.

³ *Leeds Mercury*, July 28, Aug. 12, 1837; *Stamford Mercury*, July 28, 1837; *Fraser's Magazine*, Apr., 1841; *Leeds Intelligencer*, Apr., 1841; Hansard, 1842, LXIII, 447.

⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, May 17, 1834.

⁵ Hansard, 1834, XXIV, 346-51, 1061.

⁶ *Ibid.*, XXV, 912-15; 1253-57. To check the political affiliations of those voting in key divisions, I have used C. R. P. Dod, *Parliamentary Companion*, for 1832, 1837, 1841, and 1847.

reform at that, centralized and strict. They reaffirmed their desire for a strict poor law in 1841 and 1842 when the Conservative party, victorious at the polls, renewed the new poor law. That belligerent Radical, Thomas Duncombe, much distressed at this action, complained that the renewed bill "evinced as much despotic Toryism as philosophical Whiggism"; Thomas Wakley, also a Radical, observed that those Tories who opposed the poor law during the elections were now as "mute as mice." Wakley and Duncombe in 1841 could muster only twenty-two votes in a Tory house for an amendment to give local authorities power to give outdoor relief. The Conservative ministry marshalled 216 votes to defeat the amendment. In the debates on the renewal of this measure, Disraeli remained silent, though in 1837 he called it a "moral crime and political blunder."⁷

Disraeli had spoken out more vigorously when the Privy Council in 1839 decided that £30,000 was not too much to spend on the education of England's poor. He condemned it outright. So did the Conservative party and press, which with one accord denounced the Whig measure. They found its proposals for the inspection of schools unconstitutional, despotic, and a threat to right religion. The Conservatives, of course, recognized the great need for education and admitted what the secretary of the British and Foreign School Society called "the utter and hopeless ignorance of the labouring class."⁸ No man was more appalled at that ignorance than Coleridge, who looked to education for England's salvation; but he favored parish schools managed by a "national clerisy," not an assortment of church schools inspected and aided by the state.⁹ Tories such as Gladstone, Ashley, and Southey's disciple Sir Robert Inglis, felt the same way,¹⁰ but their convictions that the Church of England alone should educate the poor, though earnest and noble, were quite impractical. England's powerful Nonconformists would not tolerate state grants to Church of England schools alone; but the Church without such grants had failed, and failed decisively, to educate the poor.¹¹ Despite these realities, the Tories clung to their conviction that the Church of England alone, and not state aided schools, should educate the poor—a conviction that prevented any real answer to the widespread ignorance of England's lower classes. Only state aid to all voluntary schools could extend education, but the Tories would not tolerate state intervention in a sphere reserved for the Church. In a grandiloquent speech to the Commons, Disraeli played deftly

⁷ Hansard, 1841, LVII, 792, 794, 797–804; 1842, LXIII, 447.

⁸ Henry Dunn, *National Education, The Question of Questions* (London, 1838), p. 7.

⁹ Coleridge, *Complete Works* (London, 1853), VI, 55, 59, 67, 68.

¹⁰ Hansard, 1839, XLVIII, 268, 603, 622.

¹¹ *Parliamentary Papers of Great Britain* (hereafter cited as *Parliamentary Papers*), 1838, VII, Committee on Education, 1–42 and 180–97.

on this deep jealousy of the state. He raised the specter of a centralized despotism comparable to those which oppressed China, Persia, and Austria, and somberly warned that the grant would force a return "to the system of a barbarous age, the system of a paternal government." The Whigs and Radicals did not share Disraeli's fears, and by a majority of two, with all the Conservatives against them, voted the £30,000 to the Committee in Council on Education and thus took the first step toward the construction of a national system of public education.¹²

The slim margin of victory on the education grant betokened the growing weakness of the Whigs in the Commons. In the election of 1841 they lost control of the house completely, and Sir Robert Peel, with a rejuvenated party behind him, formed a Tory government. The Tories now had a chance to practice what many of them had long professed. At Tamworth in 1835, Peel had set the tone of the new conservatism. He accepted the Reform Act of 1832 and promised his electors "to redress all real grievances."¹³ Disraeli in 1841 was even more ardently humanitarian. He told the electors: "There is no subject on which I have taken a deeper interest than the condition of the working class."¹⁴ Gladstone, still inspired by the ideals of Coleridge, urged at Newark in 1841 that a greater concern be shown for the aged, the sick, and the widowed and that greater freedom be given to local poor law authorities.¹⁵ Ostensibly free from those mercantile interests that tied down the Whigs, the Conservatives boasted a greater sensitivity to the sufferings of the working class. With a majority of ninety-one in the Commons and sure control of the Lords, they now had the opportunity to make Tory paternalism a genuine answer to the condition of England question.

Lord Ashley for one wished to exploit this opportunity. In 1841 he had discovered that the worst hardships of the overworked factory hands could not compare to the miseries and dangers suffered by the miners. In 1842 he told the Commons of these evils, of boys and girls pulling sacks of coal through narrow seams, of six- and seven-year olds sitting alone in dark recesses opening and closing ventilation traps for hours at a time, of half naked women worked as beasts of burden, of foul air, dangerous explosions, long hours, fatigue, indecencies, and immoralities. It was a depressing story, and it left little grounds for opposition. The Commons quickly passed a bill to prohibit women, boys under the age of thirteen, and all apprentice labor from working in the mines. The peers, on the other hand, were not so deeply

¹² Hansard, 1839, XLVIII, 580-681.

¹³ W. Cooke Taylor, *Life and Times of Sir Robert Peel* (London, 1851), II, 406-17.

¹⁴ Monypenny and Buckle, *Disraeli* (London, 1912), II, 231.

¹⁵ John Morley, *Life of Gladstone* (London, 1903), I, 238.

moved. Led by Lord Londonderry, the great Tory mineowner, they reduced the age of exclusion for boys to ten, and secured an amendment permitting the use of apprentice labor. Lord Wharnccliffe, the government's leader in the Lords, did nothing to prevent these concessions. By the time the amended bill had been returned to the Commons, the coal interests had grown bolder and the government more timid. As a result the amendments were accepted. The bill had never been a government bill but was the result of Ashley's private endeavors. The most it won from the ministry was a quiet assent. Peel spoke only once, and then to urge the acceptance of the Lords' amendments. Gladstone voted against the bill and Disraeli was absent.¹⁶ All this the embittered Ashley recorded in his diary.

In 1844 Ashley suffered further disappointments. In that year his Conservative colleagues prevented the passage of his ten hour bill for factory labor.¹⁷ Both Sir Robert Peel, the Prime Minister, and Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, denounced the ten hour restriction as an invasion of the rights of property, and they mustered their Conservative colleagues to defeat Lord Ashley's ten hour amendment by three votes.¹⁸ *The Economist*, ever scrupulous about property rights, decried the fact that so large a portion of the Liberals and Whigs supported Ashley and added that in the future the manufacturers should look to the Conservatives to defend their interests.¹⁹ Deserted by most of his party, Ashley lost another battle in his fight to extend the protection of the government to the laboring man. The ten hour day had to await the return of the Whigs, who in 1847, with the help of rural Tories now free of Peel's whips, carried it through Parliament.²⁰ Despite ministerial indifference and Disraeli's silence, Ashley himself never wearied in his efforts to promote social reform, forcing through Parliament in these years bills for government inspection of insane asylums and for the regulation of print works. The House of Lords often discouraged him. In 1840 the Lords talked of defeating his bill to protect chimney sweeps. "The Conservative peers," Ashley sadly noted in his diary, "threatened opposition and the Radical Ministers warmly support the Bill."²¹

Ashley desired a strong, benevolent government which would protect the

¹⁶ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1842, XV, Labor in Coal Mines, 255-57; Hansard, 1842, LXIII, 1320-66; LXIV, 783, 936; LXV, 1100.

¹⁷ Edwin Hodder, *The Life and Work of the Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury* (London, 1880), I, 426-29; II, 110.

¹⁸ Hansard, 1844, LXXIII, 1241-66, 1371-1462.

¹⁹ *The Economist*, Apr. 24, 1844, pp. 722-23.

²⁰ William O. Aydelotte, "The House of Commons in the 1840's," *History*, XXXIX (Oct., 1954), pp. 258-60.

²¹ Hodder, I, 300. Lord Ashley added that there was in the Duke of Wellington nothing tender or soft: "He was a hard man." Hansard, 1840, LV, 434-38.

weak and the downtrodden, but the most prominent of the Conservatives, Peel, Gladstone, and Disraeli, did not share his convictions. Evidence of their paternalistic activities is not abundant. From 1841 to 1846 they failed to make substantial advances in public education, to bring order to the chaos of railway construction, to end notorious evils in the merchant marine, or to promote urgently needed sanitary reforms. Their efforts to create factory schools floundered on the rocks of Nonconformist indignation: twenty-four thousand petitions with four million signatures condemned a bill which insisted that all teachers and a majority of school trustees (even in Nonconformist towns) be Churchmen.²² Their railway bill, which contained a clause limiting profits to 10 per cent, ended up, after negotiations with the railway companies, with another clause guaranteeing 10 per cent profits should the rates ever be regulated. *The Economist* thought the clause a joke and unworkable and the bill itself the natural result of putting an ingenious metaphysician on the Board of Trade. The Conservatives not only evaded any effective limits on profits but failed to take effective steps to end the anarchy of private bill legislation, the corruption of railway financing, and the chaos of hasty and ill-advised railway construction, all of which fostered the railway panic of 1845.²³ The ministry also did nothing to end abuses in the merchant marine, and its antipathy to centralization prevented a comprehensive health measure. Peel as Prime Minister and Gladstone at the Board of Trade shied away from such reforms. Said Peel, in opposing government regulation of railways: "It was precisely by the vigorous, judicious, and steady pursuit of self interest that individuals and companies ultimately benefitted the public at large."²⁴ And Gladstone, in religious matters a believer in a strong ecclesiastical state, was on economic matters a believer in a weak central government. An opponent of Ashley's mining inspection act and ten hour factory act, he showed himself at the Board of Trade more sensitive to the interests of the proprietors of mines, factories, and railways than to the pleas of millhands and miners. His background, like Peel's, was mercantile, and he believed as strongly as did the political economists in a laissez faire economy.

Disraeli, on the other hand, represented the landed aristocracy and the new ideals of Young England. He spoke for that faction of the Conservative party, the agriculturists, who distrusted Peel, feared his talk of lower tariffs,

²² Hodder, *The Life of Samuel Morley* (London, 1887), p. 79.

²³ John Francis, *History of English Railways, 1820-1845* (London, 1851), II, 39, 129-50; *The Economist*, July 6, 1844, p. 962.

²⁴ Hansard, 1844, LXXII, 250; 1847, CXI, 639.

and resented his connections with the manufacturing interests. Disraeli, the leader of the dissidents, the apostle of rural Toryism, and the opponent of the poor law, now had his chance to push social reforms. But in this era of Conservative majorities he was busier writing of these ideals in his novels than translating them into reforms. He showed little practical interest in the construction of a benevolent state. He gave a silent vote for the ten hour act of 1844 and that alone constitutes his record of support of Lord Ashley's reforms. The practical reality of Tory paternalism during Peel's ministry rests, upon closer examination, almost solely on the greatness of Lord Ashley, certainly a firmer foundation than the sentiments of *Sybil* and *Coningsby*.

In 1846 the Whigs and Liberals returned to power, and from that year until 1854 they enacted substantial social reforms. They expanded public aid to church schools of all denominations, passed the Ten Hour Act of 1847, the Public Health Act of 1848, and the Mining and Merchant Marine Acts of 1850, all of which increased the paternalistic role of the central government. The attitudes of the Conservatives to these measures were mixed. Their former leader, Peel, opposed the Ten Hour Act, and their new chief, Disraeli, was, as usual, silent. The Tory protectionists, led by Disraeli, showed little enthusiasm for the Health of Towns Bill of 1847 and the Public Health Act of 1848. To be sure, they desired sanitary reform. Had not Disraeli become a member of the Health of Towns Association in 1847? No Liberal more cordially detested the muddy streets of London than did the Conservative M. P. or felt more uneasy about the diseased slums of Manchester, the general want of drainage in most towns, and the lack of an adequate supply of pure water. But the Conservatives wanted no central board of health with its meddling inspectors, no interference with their rights as local magistrates and town councilors, and no sudden increase in rates for fancy sewer projects. The Health of Towns Bill, said Lord Lincoln in 1847, gave too much power to Whitehall, and in 1848, when the Conservative press denounced the Public Health Act for its centralization, Disraeli and a few intransigent Tories voted against it, though they were not numerous enough to kill it.²⁵ Disraeli's defeat was only temporary. In 1854 when local interests fought against a Board of Health arrogant enough to insist on pure water and good drainage, Disraeli and his friends were able to kill a bill which would have given a new lease of life to the General Board of Health. Thus did they testify to their interest in a healthier England. Palmerston, who understood the value

²⁵ Hansard, 1847, XCI, 639; 1848, XCVIII, 1178; *Standard*, May 9, 1848; *Morning Advertiser*, May 4, 1848; *John Bull*, May 13, 1848.

of the Board of Health, dubbed the Tories "the party of dirt" and called this vote the foulest in his Parliamentary experience.²⁶

The Whigs' mining and merchant marine reforms passed through Parliament without difficulty in 1850. Conditions in the merchant marine were so wretched and mining explosions so frequent that few dared oppose the measures. It was in fact Joseph Hume, a strong believer in the "dismal science," who championed the mining measure. Two Young Englanders, Lord John Manners and Benjamin Disraeli, led the minority in opposition. Lord John pleaded the cause of the shipowners and Disraeli that of the mine-owners. Disraeli protested that the bill to reduce accidents by closer inspection was an "interposition between labour and capital."²⁷ The voting record of the author of *Sybil* was hardly distinguished by a compassion for the working class. He voted against the Education Order of 1839, against cheap bread in 1846, against the Public Health Act of 1848, against the Mining Act of 1850, and against the General Board of Health Act in 1854. On factory legislation his record was, in D. C. Somervell's words, "dubious and meagre."²⁸ His single speech for the ten hour factory bill was the only time he spoke for any reform designed to better the condition of the working classes.

The above survey of the Tory party's record on social reform raises disturbing questions about the nature of early nineteenth-century English conservatism. Was it as paternalistic as Russell Kirk would have it, or as humanitarian as Clinton Rossiter believes it to have been? Were these conservatives, as Peter Viereck argues, dedicated more to social justice than to *laissez faire*? Of the sincerity of Coleridge's and Southey's responses to the coarseness, misery, and selfishness of the new industrial society there can be no doubt; nor is there need to be cynical about Gladstone's earnest convictions and Peel's desire to remedy real grievances. And even the sentiments of *Sybil* and *Coningsby*, medieval and fanciful as they are, ring true. Yet these ideals were not translated into practice. What is the explanation of this failure?

The question is fundamental to an understanding of early Victorian con-

²⁶ Anon., *Liberals and Conservatives, and Their Policy toward the Working Classes* (London, 1855), p. 12 (copy in the Chadwick MSS, University College, London); Hansard, 1854, CXXXIV, 1296. Palmerston has been much maligned by those who believe that the Whigs were careless of the people's well-being while the Tories were more solicitous. A recent reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (Feb. 3, 1956), in defending Carlyle, has described Palmerston as one of "the ignorant and jaunty aristocrats . . . uninterested in the condition of the people." Nothing could be farther from the truth.

²⁷ Hansard, 1850, CXIII, 759, 1071; 1851, CXVI, 501. In 1851 Lord Stanley, a year later prime minister in a Tory ministry, urged the repeal of the Merchant Marine Act because of its interference in the shipping business.

²⁸ Somervell, *Disraeli and Gladstone* (London, 1926), p. 76.

servatism, yet it admits of no simple answer. The ideals of conservatism, for one thing, were hopelessly varied. How different were the passionate pronouncements of Coleridge from the elaborate reflections of Burke, how unlike the sentiments of Disraeli were the calculations of Peel. Another reason that no simple answer explains their failure is the complexity of the problems faced. Neither the knotty complications of the new poor law nor the religious jealousies involved in the question of education were amenable to simple paternalistic solutions. Yet the reasons for the failure must be sought, and in that search two frequently forgotten characteristics of early Victorian conservatism must be considered—its deep attachments to local interests, the basis of the *laissez faire* of the eighteenth century, and its high regard for the rights of property, the basis of the *laissez faire* of the nineteenth century.

Coleridge above all others appealed to the Englishmen's deep attachments to local interests. He expressed their suspicion of Whitehall and of "act of Parliament reform," and he looked to the local clergy, the squire, the magistracy, and the ordinary citizen to promote the Christian society. "Let us become better people," said Coleridge, "let every man measure his effort by his power in his sphere of action . . . let him act personally and in detail wherever it is practical."²⁹ Disraeli fully shared this belief that the regenerated individual, working in local spheres, could create the ideal society. Among the squirearchy it was a deeply felt prejudice expressed rather bluntly in its journal, *John Bull*. The journal proudly asserted in arguing against the Public Health Act that England needed local corporations not central bureaus.³⁰ The Tories were possessed of a deep loyalty to their corporations, whether they were quarter sessions or borough councils, parishes or endowed hospitals. When the rights of these corporations were threatened by the central government, the Tories cried out against the evils of centralization. Disraeli invoked the fear of centralization in his war against police, education, and sanitary reforms.³¹ The *Times*, in its most Tory phase, raised this specter to condemn all government commissions.³² And Conservatives as diverse as David Urquhart, Lord Lonsdale, and the railway king, George Hudson, opposed the Public Health Act for the same reason.³³ A young Tory barrister, Joshua Toulmin Smith, who attributed the growth of the powers of the central government to the false humanitarianism of the Whigs, wrote pamphlet upon

²⁹ Coleridge, "A Lay Sermon," *Works*, VI, p. 225.

³⁰ *John Bull*, May 13, 1848.

³¹ Hansard, 1839, XLVIII, 578; L, 357; 1848, XCVI, 1022, XCVII, 798.

³² *Times*, May 14, 1838, Nov. 2, 1843.

³³ Chadwick MSS, letter on Newcastle, Sept. 28, 1853, unaddressed.

pamphlet against centralization.³⁴ "Centralization" was an evil word. It evoked the deepest of Tory prejudices and touched the most sacred of Tory interests. "Centralization," said that staunch English patriot, Mr. Podsnap, "No, Never with my consent. Not English!"³⁵ The Tories guarded their local privileges vigilantly and defended with equal regard the right of the clergy to educate the poor, the right of the borough to run its prisons, and the right of the parish to repair its roads. In 1839 the Tory localists, among them Benjamin Disraeli, thwarted the Whig plan for a centrally supervised county police and for the central inspection of highways; and so there continued the unregulated system of parish highway surveyors and constables, unpaid, annually appointed, and ineffective.³⁶ The many blue books of the period show that the localism of the eighteenth century did not answer the problems of the nineteenth century; streets remained undrained and unpoliced, prisons mismanaged, schools unsupported, asylums and charities inefficient.³⁷ Few countries have known such an administrative *laissez faire*.

The Conservative's attachment to local government arose from many sources; from traditionalism, from vested interests in local power and patronage, from a loyalty to the Church, and from a fear of higher rates. The last motive was of no small magnitude. It persuaded them to accept in 1834 the most centralizing of all measures and one against which all their sentiments rebelled—the new poor law; but it persuaded many of them in 1848 and 1854 to oppose a further measure of centralization, the Public Health Act. Landlords, such as the Marquis of Salisbury in Hertford and Lord Lonsdale in Gateshead, attacked the measure for its encroachments on local rights.³⁸ Whatever the motives, whether self-interest or traditionalism, or loyalty to the Church, the Tories generally opposed those very paternalistic reforms which an industrial society demanded. That this localism was another form of *laissez faire* is evident in the pronouncements of David Urquhart, Colonel Sibthorp, and George Buck, all staunch, albeit eccentric, Tories and all vehement in their attacks on centralization. Sibthorp told the Commons in 1847 that he "detested the rapid strides of government power," and George Buck told them in 1848 that "he was opposed to every kind of Commis-

³⁴ J. T. Smith, *Government by Commission, Illegal and Pernicious* (London, 1849), pp. 15–19; *Centralization or Representation* (London, 1848).

³⁵ Charles Dickens, *Our Mutual Friend* (London, 1953), p. 132.

³⁶ Hansard, 1839, XLV, 1323; L, 357; *Chadwick MSS*, sketch of his life; *Stamford Mercury*, Aug. 1, 1839.

³⁷ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1835, XXVII, Select Committee on Prisons; 1838, XXVI, Select Committee on Education; 1838, XXIX, Select Committee on Highways; 1839, XXIX, Royal Commission on Police; 1844, XXVI, Report of the Lunacy Commissioners; 1845, XXVI, Health of Towns Report; J. P. Fearon, *The Endowed Charities* (London, 1856).

³⁸ *Chadwick MSS*, letter on Newcastle, Sept. 28, 1853.

sion.”³⁹ Urquhart asserted in Dod’s *Parliamentary Companion* (1847) that he had one rule, “to vote for any measure which is to abrogate an old statute, and against every measure which is to introduce a new one.”

These Tories detested “act of Parliament reforms,” and their suspicion of the government ran deeper than that of Adam Smith, deeper even than that of the Benthamites. The situation was paradoxical. The Tories, many of whom abhorred the principles of *laissez faire*, defended its practical application, while the Benthamites and Whigs, avowed disciples of Smith and Ricardo, promoted those social reforms which brought a strong paternalistic state.

Not all Conservatives, of course, opposed the doctrines of the economists. William Pitt the younger greatly admired the teachings of Adam Smith, and it was Edmund Burke who first introduced political economy into conservative orthodoxy.⁴⁰ Under Pitt, George Canning, and William Huskisson the Tory party welcomed the lords of the exchange and the lords of the mill and the ideas of Smith and Ricardo. Nearly one half of those representing business interests who sat in the House of Commons from 1841 to 1847 sat on the Conservative side of the House, according to Professor Aydelotte’s statistics.⁴¹ There they heard their leaders defend the rights of property as ardently as the Whigs and Liberals. Gladstone voted against the first mining inspection act and Disraeli against the second.⁴² Gladstone’s defense arose from a deep conviction (he possessed no other variety) that the laws of political economy were immutable; Disraeli’s from an almost medieval loyalty to his Lord and Lady Londonderry. Lord Londonderry, the greatest mineowner in Britain, was the principal opponent of all attempts to send inspectors into the mines. Most Conservatives owned property, and not all of it was agricultural. Lord Lonsdale, for example, owned not only broad acres of farm land but mines as well, and he was the ground landlord of the Gateshead slums. The Marquis of Salisbury drew much of his income from rents on the tenements of Hertford. Both lords opposed the application of the Public Health Act to their property. For the inhabitants of Gateshead this meant a failure to improve the sanitation of the town and consequent serious losses from the cholera epidemic of 1854.⁴³ Another leading Conservative, George Hudson,

³⁹ Hansard, 1847, XCIII, 1094 and 1115. The fifty-nine who opposed the act in 1847 were mostly Protectionist Tories, men like C. N. Newdegate, R. Spooner, and Young Englanders like Lord John Manners.

⁴⁰ Elie Halevy, *The Growth of Philosophical Radicalism* (Boston, 1955), p. 230; Edmund Burke, “Thoughts and Details on Scarcity,” *Complete Works* (Boston, 1894), V, 131 ff.

⁴¹ Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁴² Hansard, 1850, CXII, 1242–43; CXIII, 4.

⁴³ See fn. 37; *Parliamentary Papers*, 1854, XXVIII, Report on Gateshead, p. 155.

opposed not only the Public Health Act but any effective regulation of railways. He was joined in this opposition by Sir Robert Peel himself. Men of property could, as *The Economist* said in 1844, trust Peel. He argued ably against any regulation of the hours of adult labor and against any interference with the rights of capital. He feared the torpid hand of the government and had a firm belief, as did Burke, in the doctrines of the economists.

Peel was indeed the bearer of the tradition of Burke, just as Disraeli was the bearer of the tradition of Coleridge. As a result Peel won the praises of *The Economist* for his allegiance to commercial principles while Disraeli earned the applause of the squirearchy for his defense of local liberties. Each represented different groups in the Tory party and each stood for opposing social philosophies. Peel was the architect of the new conservatism ready to make its peace with the nineteenth century, attempting, as Burke preached, to blend cautious reforms with old traditions. Disraeli on the other hand was, like Coleridge, a prophet declaiming against the evils of a materialistic, commercial age and extolling men to be charitable to the poor. Peel believed in sound finance, efficient administration, and responsible laws, and he spoke for the business interests. Disraeli had faith in a hierarchical society governed by a humane aristocracy, and he spoke for the great landed interests.

The two factions and the two outlooks fitted very ill together after 1842, the year Peel failed to end the malt tax and talked of tariff reform. The conflicts between them, and the struggle over the corn laws which broke Peel's party, were hardly encouraging to measures of social reform. Of the two factions, it was rural Toryism that most vociferously condemned the abuses in factories, and its leaders sympathized most openly with the plight of the working classes. In the realm of social ideas Disraeli stands out as the true Tory humanitarian. He urged Parliament in 1839 to consider the chartists' petition and their grievances; in *Coningsby* he reprimanded landlords for mistreating their tenants; in *Sybil* he showed a real understanding of the grievances of industrial workers. Yet he gave little support to practical legislation to end these grievances. His fear of a strong central bureaucracy and his alliance with local corporate interests and a propertied aristocracy persuaded him to express his paternalism in appeals for rejuvenation of national character and not in mining inspectors and boards of health. His allies among the rural Tories hated such central commissions. The Peelites, closer to administrative realities, knew the use of such commissions. They accepted the Poor Law Commission in 1841 and the Board of Health in 1848. But on questions of industrial regulation they spoke for that half of the business interests who sat on the Conservative side of the House, for the Hudsons,

Cardwells, and Barings; and they argued for an untrammelled capitalism and a free labor market. Thus, though greatly dissimilar in outlook, the corporate localism of Disraeli's Protectionists and the political economy of the Peelites both encouraged a practical policy of *laissez faire*.

The failure of most of the Tories to support reform does not tell the whole story of nineteenth-century conservatism. It does not tell of the later Disraeli, quite altered by the responsibility of office and the need to win the votes of the workingmen. It leaves out the humanitarian work of the Yorkshire Tory Radicals. It does not do justice to Lord Ashley, whose monumental social reforms (though supported more often by Radicals and Whigs than Tories) offered some foundation for the humanitarian reputation of the Tory party.

There may be no reason to discredit the ideals of Tory paternalism, but one may question how much these were ever put into practice. Historians might think twice before accepting Wingfield-Stratford's view of the young Disraeli flinging himself "heart and soul into questions of social reform" or Keith Feiling's generous praise of Disraeli's social conscience. Political philosophers might raise an eyebrow when they hear from Peter Viereck that the Tories tended "to prefer social justice to *laissez faire*." Even historians of American history, such as Louis Hartz in his *The Liberal Tradition in America*, may have fallen into the error of believing that "Southern Feudalism fell short of Disraeli's standard of humanitarianism." The truth is that recent historians and new conservatives alike have romanticized nineteenth-century conservatism. It was not as benevolent, as generous, nor as heroic as they imagine.

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* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Working-Class Politics and Economic Development in Western Europe*

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HOW far has economic development conditioned working-class politics in Western Europe in the last century and a half? Are there stages of economic development in which protest is always sharp and others in which it is dull? To what extent are the differences in protest among the nations due to differences in economic growth, to what extent to different patterns of general historical development caused by other factors? What types of studies may promote our understanding of these questions? These are questions I propose to raise or to discuss here.

The study of economic development has had a tremendous revival in the last decade. This revival springs largely from considerations of public policy, an honorable stimulus to scholars' quickened interest. One source is the pressure of the economically underdeveloped countries, those we used to call "backward" countries but which are often extremely "forward" these days. Another is the threat of economic stagnation in older industrial nations. A third is the concern of the democracies for their very survival in the face of the vast economic growth of the Soviet Union and, in the offing, of Communist China.

"Economic development," the economist James S. Duesenberry says, "seems to be one of those peculiar phrases whose meaning everyone knows without the aid of any formal definition. Onward and upward expresses the term's meaning as well as anything else."¹ Here I should like to consider

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¹ *Papers and Proceedings of the American Economic Association, 1951*, p. 558, a discussion of papers on economic growth in the United States. Economists, as M. M. Postan remarks, "have now moved into regions which historians have always regarded as their own. Yet, so far, the growing proximity has not done much to bring historical and theoretical study together." See his "Economic Growth" ("Essays in Bibliography and Criticism," XXIII), reviewing W. W. Rostow, *The Process of Economic Growth*, in *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., VI (1953), no. 1, 78-83.

the effects of long-range economic change, which includes some regression as well as the "onward and upward" which generally marks our period. Not only are changes in total national product and product per head important, but so are the types of industry, the size of enterprise, the structure of ownership and quality of management, the sources of the labor force, the patterns of occupations, the distribution of income, and the nature of the industrial and urban communities.²

The other side of the problem is the politics of labor, particularly the politics of protest. I shall include in political protest primarily fundamental protest against the social and political order (what Otto Kirchheimer has called "the opposition of principle"), but also the loyal opposition within the framework of the existing regime, and even some pressure group politics.³ The distinctions have not always been clear to those who protest; often they have been even less clear to those to whom petition or clamor has been addressed—government, bourgeoisie, or fellow workers.

Working-class protest, like economic development, has been a matter of some agitated public concern since the Second World War. But people have been proclaiming it a chief problem of modern times since Carlyle wrote of the "bitter discontent gone fierce and mad, the wrong conditions therefore or the wrong disposition of the Working Classes of England"⁴ and Harriet Martineau warned that "this great question of the rights of labor . . . cannot be neglected under a lighter penalty than ruin to all."⁵

² For recent discussion of some of the relevant considerations, chiefly by economists see Simon Kuznets, "Toward a Theory of Economic Growth," in Robert Lekachman, ed., *National Policy for Economic Welfare at Home and Abroad* (Garden City, 1955), pp. 12–103; Kuznets, Wilbert E. Moore, and Joseph J. Spengler, eds., *Economic Growth: Brazil, India, Japan* (Durham, N. C., 1955), which includes general essays; Universities-National Bureau Committee for Economic Research, *Capital Formation and Economic Growth* (Princeton, 1955); Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis, *Approaches to Economic Development* (New York, 1955); S. Herbert Frankel, *The Economic Impact on Under-developed Societies* (Oxford, 1953); W. W. Rostow, *The Process of Economic Growth* (New York, 1952); Colin Clark, *The Conditions of Economic Progress* (2d ed., London, 1951); Bert F. Hoselitz, ed., *The Progress of Under-developed Areas* (Chicago, 1953); Léon H. Dupriez, ed., *Economic Progress*, Conference of International Economic Association (Louvain, 1955); and W. Arthur Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (London, 1955). Specifically discussing labor, see Wilbert E. Moore, *Industrialization and Labor* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1951), with descriptive material from Mexico; Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, "The Structuring of the Labor Force in Industrial Society: New Dimensions and New Questions," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VIII (Jan., 1955), 151–68; Clark Kerr, Frederick H. Harbison, John T. Dunlop, and Charles A. Myers, "The Labor Problem in Economic Development," *International Labour Review*, LXXI (March, 1955), 223–35; Reinhard Bendix, *Work and Authority in Industry, Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization* (New York, 1956); and R. L. Aronson and J. P. Windmuller, eds., *Labor, Management and Economic Growth* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1954).

³ For a distinction between labor "pressure group" and "political" action, see Adolf Sturmhthal, *The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918–1939* (New York, 1943).

⁴ Thomas Carlyle, "Chartism," *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, in *Works* (30 vols., New York, 1900), XXIX, 119.

⁵ *A History of the Peace: Being a History of England from 1816 to 1854* (4 vols., Boston, 1866), IV, 622.

A few hardy souls have sought to identify historical truth on these matters by quantitative methods, shrinking neither from the paucity of data nor the conceptual difficulties of the task. For all but very recent periods the data are sketchy, and "guesstimates" are difficult and shaky. Comparisons in time multiply the difficulties, as the composition of what is being compared changes—but the efforts are worth making. Economic growth may be measured in figures of national income or industrial production, in national totals and per head. We may try to measure not only the community's income but—still more difficult—the workers' shares of the community's income. People do not revolt against averages, however. We must try to separate groups of workers whose special grievances may set off widespread protest when the economy as a whole is moving forward. We must recognize the lags in political responses to objective conditions. Attitudes generated by economic regression may not manifest themselves in behavior until after economic recovery.

W. W. Rostow, in his valuable book on the nineteenth-century British economy, has a "social tension chart" for the years 1790–1850.⁶ The chart records quantitatively factors that produce, or might produce, social tensions (wheat prices and the trade cycle, for unemployment), but not the tensions or manifestations of tension themselves. We are here, moreover, in the short-run ups and downs of business cycles, rather in stages of economic growth.

On the axis of protest, too, measurement is difficult. It is easy to overestimate the evidence that is quantifiable. In recent decades many nations have recorded the man-days lost by strikes, but these numbers represent no uniform quantities; there are great differences in the intensity of protest, and political content, from one strike to another.

Political protest can be measured in some of its more orderly forms: party membership, election results, and—for the most recent years, in many nations—whatever it is people tell to those who take public opinion polls. For periods before the working class attained full suffrage, however, the test of votes is only partially applicable, and complete and equal manhood suffrage was not attained until the First World War in most of the advanced European nations. We do not know how workers voted, moreover, or who voted for the parties claiming to represent the working class, except in some one-industry areas like the miners' constituencies. Nor have all Socialist votes or all Communist votes been of equal intensity as protests. Some votes have

⁶ *British Economy of the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 123–25. Cf. E. J. Hobsbawm, "Economic Fluctuations and Some Social Movements since 1800," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., V, no. 1 (1952), 1–25.

implied rejection of the social order; others, merely hopes of immediate economic self-interest; still others, vague and diffuse frustrations.⁷

On the eve of the Industrial Revolution, Henry Fielding remarked: "The sufferings of the poor are less observed than their misdeeds. . . . They starve, and freeze, and rot among themselves, but they beg, and steal, and rob among their betters."⁸ Soon the laboring poor were able to do more, when they were thrown out of work or their wages were cut, than "beg and steal and rob among their betters." Modern economic development created a new sort of political protest by generating the industrial, essentially urban, wage-earning groups in such numbers and force that they were, for all their medieval and early modern predecessors, in most ways a new class—as yet only "camped in society . . . not established there."⁹ This was, said the ex-worker Denis Poulot, "the terrible sphinx which is called the people . . . this great mass of workers which does not know what it is, except that it suffers."¹⁰ Huddled in the wretched new factory towns or in the slums of renowned old cities, oppressed by long hours of work, arbitrary shop rules, and monotony, sorely tried by recurrent unemployment, unlettered, this mass inspired more fear than solicitude. Lord Liverpool, congratulated by Chateaubriand on the solidity of British institutions, pointed to the capital outside his windows and replied: "What can be stable with these enormous cities? One insurrection in London and all is lost."¹¹

Hunger will turn political. In the hard year of 1819 the banners of the crowd at Peterloo, before the Yeomen rode them down, typified the mixture of the economic and the political: "A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work," "No Corn Laws," and "Equal Representation or Death."¹²

It was not hunger alone. "The poor have hearts as well as stomachs," said Cooke Taylor but deemed it a fact not known to many who passed for wise men.¹³ Carlyle knew it: "It is not what a man outwardly has or wants that constitutes the happiness or misery of him. Nakedness, hunger, distress of all kinds, death itself have been cheerfully suffered, when the heart was right. It is the feeling of injustice that is insupportable to all men. . . . No man can bear it or ought to bear it."¹⁴

⁷ For criticism of an attempt at quantitative analysis of protest in earlier periods, see Crane Brinton, *The Anatomy of Revolution* (rev. ed., New York, 1952), p. 28.

⁸ *A Proposal for Making an Effectual Provision for the Poor, 1753*, in *Works* (16 vols., New York, 1902), XIII, 141.

⁹ Michel Chevalier, *De l'industrie manufacturière en France* (Paris, 1841), p. 37.

¹⁰ *Le Sublime* (3d ed., Paris, 1887; first pub. in 1870), p. 27.

¹¹ Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (Brussels, 1849), IV, 210.

¹² F. A. Bruton, ed., *Three Accounts of Peterloo by Eyewitnesses* (Manchester, 1921); William Page, ed., *Commerce and Industry* (2 vols., London, 1919), II, 47.

¹³ *Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts of Lancashire . . .* (London, 1842), p. 157.

¹⁴ "Chartism," pp. 144-45.

Michel Chevalier looked at manufacturing and said: "Fixed points are totally lacking. There is no bond between superior and inferior, no rapprochement between equals. . . . Nothing holds, nothing lasts."¹⁵ Slowly, "fixed points" were established; the working classes gained in education, self-discipline, and political experience. In the course of industrialization in every Western country, despite crises and wars, workers' levels of living improved vastly. Did this resolve working-class protest?

Continuing economic development would resolve the very protest it brought into being, Marx argued, but only by the inevitable substitution of a new order for the capitalist society, which would prove incapable of continuing the triumphant progress of economic growth. Until the coming of the new order, declared the *Communist Manifesto*, "the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry," and in *Capital* Marx affirmed that "there is a steady intensification of the wrath of the working class." (I use a few of Marx's significant statements as beginning points for discussion, not attempting an analysis of Marx or Marxism.)

These predictions have been contradicted by the experience (thus far) of all the Western nations except France and Italy—nor do France and Italy actually support the prophecy. Here is one of the ironies of the history of Marxist prediction.¹⁶ Only in the two countries where, among all the great industrial nations of the free world, capitalism has shown the least sustained dynamism has the "wrath of the working class" permitted the Communist party to take and hold a preponderant position among workers.¹⁷ These two countries require a closer look.

In France and Italy, economic growth alone could not resolve the non-economic problems created by wars, religious tensions, social distance, and the relations between the individual and the state. We cannot go into the noneconomic factors here. But the sense of injustice in these countries also grew, in part, out of the qualities of economic growth: the character of entrepreneurship, the distribution of income, and—even more—the nature of employer authority. The bourgeoisie of France and of Italy were insistent in their demands for protection against labor as well as protection against competition. Niggardly and tardy in concessions to their workers, they flaunted

¹⁵ *Op cit.*, p. 38.

¹⁶ Cf. D. W. Brogan (in a different connection): "It is one of history's favorite jokes to invert Marxian prophecy." Introduction to Alexander Werth, *The Twilight of France* (New York, 1942), p. vii.

¹⁷ Nor, clearly, has the experience in the Soviet orbit borne out the Marxian prophecy any better, since revolution won in countries in early stages of industrial capitalism and had to be imposed from without on more advanced countries.

inequalities by their style of living. Their class consciousness helped shape the class consciousness of workers.

Workers, moreover, doubted the ability of their superiors to fulfill their economic functions as an entrepreneurial class. The slowness of economic growth evoked protest, particularly in France. Before the First World War, labor leaders shared with many orthodox economists and publicists the impression that their country was stagnating,¹⁸ although it was progressing in the two decades before the war. The gloomy view arose in part from comparisons with the industrial growth of the United States and with the industrial and military growth of Germany. That view also reflected the state of labor organization, greater in the stagnant old industries such as building and in the thousands of small workshops of Paris than in the newer industries such as the booming steel mills of Lorraine. Later, in the interwar period, the labor movement was strong in the civil administration and public service industries rather than in the new and technically progressive branches of private industry—chemicals, synthetic fibers, automobiles.

French employers groaned constantly about their high costs, especially of labor, and their inability to compete with foreign producers.¹⁹ Labor leaders argued, however, that the employers' difficulties really came from their sterility; "their very slow progress, from their timidity; their uncertainty, from their lack of initiative. We ask the French employers to resemble the American employer class. . . . We want a busy, active, humming country, a veritable beehive always awake. In that way our own force will be increased."²⁰ But the unions' own force remained weak. Their weakness, along with pessimism about the country's economic growth, gave to French labor that curious combination of low immediate hopes and utopian dreams which has characterized it during most of this century.

Management's own leaders praised smallness of scale and slowness to mechanize. In 1930 the president of the General Confederation of French Manufacturers congratulated his members on "the spirit of prudence in the management of firms, which is the surest guarantee against the dangers of a fearful crisis," and on "the French mentality of counting on regular and steady dividends, rather than on the saw-toothed variation of dividends fashionable in some great industrial nations."²¹ The year of this speech

¹⁸ For one excellent example of such writing, see Henri Truchy, "Essai sur le commerce extérieur de la France de 1881 à 1902," *Revue d'économie politique*, XVIII (1904), 543-87.

¹⁹ American protectionists groaned too, but they paid relatively high wages while groaning.

²⁰ Victor Griffuelhes, "L'Inferiorité des capitalistes français," *Mouvement socialiste*, no. 226, Dec., 1910, pp. 329-32.

²¹ René-P. Duchemin, *Organisation syndicale patronale en France* (Paris, 1940), pp. 64, 68.

marked the beginning of fifteen years of economic decline and stagnation in France.

The dramatic inequalities between the poorer, agricultural areas and the industrialized regions of both Italy and France created further tensions in each nation. Finally, the bourgeoisie showed a fear of the people and a political bankruptcy at history's critical hours. Workers in Italy and France tended to merge judgments of the political and the economic performance of the powers that were. Their doubts as to the competence and courage of the bourgeoisie deepened their feelings of both the injustice and the fragility of the social and political order. Here let us leave France and Italy to return to the general question.

Some would turn the Marxian assertion upside down and argue that there is a "hump of radicalism" early in a nation's industrial development and that once the economy, by a big "initial push," surmounts its early difficulties, protest inevitably falls off. The history of a number of countries gives support to this analysis. But, despite Marx and many anti-Marxists, in the history of social relationships the several factors never long "keep even pace" with each other. In England the working class has not seriously threatened the political order since Chartist times, to be sure; but the syndicalists of the immediate pre-1914 period and the Socialists of the post-1918 period were far more critical of the social and economic order than the New Model unionists and the "Lib-Labs" of the 1850's, 1860's, and 1870's. France and Italy show a series of humps of radicalism.

Economic development has attenuated early protest by changes in the structure of the working classes. "Within the ranks of the proletariat," announced the *Communist Manifesto*, "the various interests and conditions of life are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinction of labor, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. . . . The modern laborer, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class."²² Marx was observing a period of development in which the machine was breaking down old skills, especially in the textile trades. The historian was being unhistorical in assuming that the trend must continue.

By the turn of the century it was already clear to a good observer like Eduard Bernstein (who was aided by residence in England) that economic growth and social reforms were blurring the sharpness of class among wage and salaried workers.²³ This is the now familiar phenomenon of the rise of

²² Lack of space prevents discussion of the obviously related theme of the proletarianization of middle-class strata and the polarization of classes.

²³ *Evolutionary Socialism: A Criticism and Affirmation*, trans. by E. C. Harvey (London,

the "new middle class." (Let us accent the word "new," for we use the old, imprecise words "middle class" for lack of a more descriptive phrase.) George Orwell spoke of the "upward and downward extension of the middle class" and of the growing importance of the people of "indeterminate social class."²⁴ This is the result of the swelling of the so-called tertiary sector of the economy—of public administration, commerce, services, and, within the industrial sector itself, the expansion of professional, technical, and administrative jobs.²⁵ Even among those in traditional forms of wage employment, middle-class attitudes have flourished, made possible not only by higher real wages and greater leisure but also by enhanced security, housing in socially mixed communities, longer schooling, and an increasingly classless culture wafted on mass communications.

The people of the new middle class have most often sought individual rather than collective solutions. Their political preferences have been divided—although unevenly—among almost all the parties. On the Continent in crisis times, fearful of being dragged down to proletarian status, many have hearkened to authoritarian voices. The new middle class called into question many of the traditional appeals of working-class politics. The parties of labor were obliged to appeal to other classes and to more complex attitudes than, rightly or wrongly, they formerly took for granted among workers.

Another change which came with economic growth was the differentiation between the economic and the political organizations of the working classes. Early forms of action had confused the economic and political. Then there generally came a separation between unions and political parties and, albeit with interlocking directorates and memberships, a cooperative division of function. France, Italy, and Spain, however, did not achieve this division of labor; while England was developing "Sidney Webbicalism,"²⁶ they developed syndicalism. This was the confounding of politics and economics in the name of "a-political" action. Anarcho-syndicalism, with its refusal to

1909), esp. pp. 103–106, 206–207, 219. See also Peter Gay, *The Dilemma of Democratic Socialism: Eduard Bernstein's Challenge to Marx* (New York, 1952).

²⁴ *The Lion and the Unicorn* (London, 1941), pp. 53–54.

²⁵ Michel Collinet, *Essai sur la condition ouvrière, 1900–1950* (Paris, 1951); Hans Speier, *Social Order and the Risks of War* (New York, 1952), a collection of earlier essays, esp. pp. 19–26, 53–67; Reinhard Bendix and S. M. Lipset, eds., *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification* (Glencoe, Ill., 1953); G. D. H. Cole, *Studies in Class Structure* (London, 1955); Raymond Aron, "Social Structure and the Ruling Class," *British Journal of Sociology*, I, nos. 1–2, 1–16, 126–43; Georges Friedmann, ed., *Villes et Campagnes: Deuxième Semaine Sociologique . . .* (Paris, 1953); Michel Crozier, "Les Tertiaires et le Socialisme," *Esprit*, XXIV, no. 238, 706–15; E. F. M. Durbin, *The Politics of Democratic Socialism* (London, 1940), Pt. II, sec. 4.

²⁶ The term is *Punch's*, quoted by G. D. H. Cole, *The World of Labour* (4th ed., London, 1920), p. 3. In Italy syndicalism was important but not the dominant current.

recognize the reality of politics and its disdain for parliamentary democracy, had fateful consequences. It prevented an effective working relationship of the unions with the socialist parties, to the great mischief of both, and helped leave workers poorly prepared later to distinguish between democratic political protest and communist politics.

Politics could not be denied, however much some workers' leaders might plead the sufficiency of economic action. No movement came to be more dependent on political action for economic gains than the "a-political" French unions. Even the robust British workers' consumer cooperatives, founded on the Rochdale principle of political neutrality, formed a Cooperative party (which became a small tail to the Labour party kite). When British labor attempted in the 1926 general strike to solve by industrial action a problem too big for industrial action alone, the result was catastrophe. Even there, moreover, the Trades Union Congress used its economic power in only a halfhearted way for fear of damaging the nation's political foundations.

The once lively anarchist and syndicalist movements practically disappeared under the hammer of economic development. The libertarian movements could not survive in the climate of assembly line production, modern industrial organization, or the modern welfare state. It was the communists, opposed though they were to the deepest libertarian impulses, who by their militant rejection of bourgeois society claimed most of the anarchists' and syndicalists' following. To the completely power-centered movement fell the heritage of those who had refused to come to any terms with political power.

Among the socialists, the bearded prophets gave way to the smooth-chinned organizers, parliamentarians, and planners. Socialist militancy was a victim of socialist success, itself made possible by economic growth. Economic growth produced a margin of well-being and facilitated the compromises and generosity which reconciled groups to each other in most of the liberal democracies.

Along with socialist militancy, socialist certitudes faded. The motto of "Socialism in our time" was amended, at least *sotto voce*, to "Socialism . . . but not in our time." Socialism became less than ever a doctrine and more a political temper. Despite an addiction to worn-out slogans, it was mellowed and strengthened, particularly after the First World War, by its identification with the noneconomic values of national life against threats from extreme left and extreme right.

Where it was most doctrinal, socialism was least effective—and often least true to its own doctrine. It proved most effective where it was most pragmatic, in the lands where the habits of civic responsibility and political com-

promise were strong; these were all (except Switzerland) constitutional monarchies. In France and in Italy, however, the Communist party rushed into the gap between socialist reasonableness and workers' old resentments, between socialist uncertainties and workers' pent-up hopes. Spain and Portugal were limiting cases; their hours of democracy were of the briefest, in part because of long economic stagnation.

"Modern industrial labor, modern subjugation to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped [the proletarian] of every trace of national character. . . . National differences, and antagonisms between people, are daily more and more vanishing," said the *Communist Manifesto*. Instead, the working-class movements have all followed different national patterns. For many years it could be said that the only thing the socialists had nationalized was socialism.

Britain developed a labor movement of class solidarity and class organization without class hatred; France and Italy, class hatred but ineffectual class organization. Scandinavia developed on the British pattern, overcoming class conflict and moving on to an even higher degree of class restraint and responsibility than Britain's. The Belgian, Dutch, and Swiss working classes have shown a remarkable degree of responsibility, although their highly developed class organizations have followed the religious and political cleavages in each nation. The Communist Internationals have exercised central controls, but over parties which have differed not only from continent to continent but also from nation to contiguous Western European nation.

"A number of things govern men," said Montesquieu, "climate, religion, laws, maxims of government, the examples of things past, customs, manners; from all this there is formed a general spirit."²⁷ Economic development was only one of the factors that influenced social structures, cultural patterns, political habits and institutions, and what for short we call national character.

National character is often a bundle of contradictions, however, and it changes in time. The form and temper of working-class action also change. In Norway, for example, the tremendous onrush of industrialization early in this century evoked a radical protest which gave the union movement a syndicalist turn and took the Labor party into the Communist International.²⁸ But the party soon broke with the Comintern, and party and unions de-

²⁷ The year 1956 reminded us again, in hope and tragedy, of the "general spirit" of peoples. Upsurge against Soviet rule came, where if anywhere among the satellites one might have expected it, from the "brave" and "romantic" Poles and Hungarians.

²⁸ Walter Galenson, *Labor in Norway* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949) and "Scandinavia," in Galenson, ed., *Comparative Labor Movements* (New York, 1952).

veloped into one of the most solid—yet independent and imaginative—labor movements in the world.

In Belgium, about 1891, social conflict seemed so irreconcilable that Paul Vinogradoff thought revolution must break out in this “overcrowded country, where the extremes of socialist and Catholic opinion were at that time most in evidence,”²⁹ and that such a revolution would touch off a general European war. But before the First World War, Belgian workers had somehow assimilated their conflicts in a structure of compromise and appeared as among the most moderate in Europe.

The study of differences and similarities between the nations, as well as change within the nations, sheds light on our problems. One may, for example, compare France and Belgium, separated by a rather artificial frontier but by many historical differences. The reconciliation of the Belgian working class to the political and social order, divided though the workers are by language and religion and the Flemish-Walloon question, makes a vivid contrast with the experience of France. The differences did not arise from the material fruits of economic growth, for both long were rather low-wage countries, and Belgian wages were the lower. In some ways the two countries had similar economic development. But Belgium’s industrialization began earlier; it was more dependent on international commerce, both for markets and for its transit trade; it had a faster growing population; and it became much more urbanized than France. The small new nation, “the cockpit of Europe,” could not permit itself social and political conflict to the breaking point. Perhaps France could not either, but it was harder for the bigger nation to realize it.

Comparisons of different groups within nations and among nations are of the essence too. Some occupations seem prone to long phases of radicalism.³⁰ Dangerous trades, unsteady employment, and isolation from the larger community are some of the factors which make for radicalism among dockers, seamen, lumbermen, and miners in many—though not all—countries. Yet radicalism has had successes among the more stable occupations too.

It is not generally those who are in the greatest economic distress who are the leaders in protest. First, one may recognize the element of chance in the occupational selection of leaders of protest (as in all selections of leadership). It is happenstance that the lifelong leader of the French unions, Léon

²⁹ H. A. L. Fisher, “Memoir,” in *The Collected Papers of Paul Vinogradoff* (2 vols., Oxford, 1928), I, 19.

³⁰ See for example Clark Kerr and Abraham Siegel, “The Interindustry Propensity to Strike,” in A. Kornhauser, *et al.*, eds., *Industrial Conflict* (New York, 1954), pp. 189–212; K. G. J. C. Knowles, *Strikes* (Oxford, 1952).

Jouhaux, came out of a match factory and that the great leader of Danish Social Democracy, Thorvald Stauning, came out of the cigar maker's trade. Beyond the chance elements, however, there is a process of selection for leadership of protest from strength rather than misery, by the capacity of the group rather than its economic distress. First those in the skilled artisan trades (notably the printers and building craftsmen), then the metal workers, miners, and railroad men have been in the vanguard in many lands. In relation to economic development, some of the leaders have come from the groups of skilled operatives menaced by technological change, others from skilled or semi-skilled workers in positions of continuing opportunity or in stable, strategic locations in the industrial process.

Urban and regional social history and political history for the industrial age mostly remain to be written.³¹ Description may be aided and informed by comparison. Birmingham may be compared with Manchester and Leeds, Birmingham with Lyons; Asa Briggs has done both for the early nineteenth century.³² Comparisons within nations may point up the importance of factors quite different from those which emerge from comparisons between nations. In France and Italy, syndicalism seems related to comparative national economic retardation. In Spain, syndicalism was strong in the economically most advanced region of a country as a whole terribly retarded; the reasons were in the Catalans' political autonomism as well as in their economic advance.³³

Apparently similar economic trends may give rise to, or at least be accompanied by, different consequences of protest. British miners' protest mounted bitterly as the coal industry sank into the doldrums of the 1920's. On the other hand, the porcelain workers of Limoges, vigorous socialists at the turn of the century, became torpid as their industry declined into torpor.

If only in passing and by inference, I hope to have recalled some examples of the particular subjects which invite the historian and some of the values of comparative studies.³⁴ We need to study many more individuals, in biog-

³¹ On the need for regional and local studies, see Carl E. Schorske, *German Social Democracy, 1905-1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 341-42; Georges Duveau, "Comment étudier la vie ouvrière," in *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, XXVI, no. 1 (1940-1947), 11-21; J. -D. Réynaud and Alain Touraine, "Les ouvriers," in Maurice Duverger, ed., *Partis politiques et classes sociales en France* (Paris, 1955), pp. 34-35, 41-42; Gabriel Le Bras, *Études de Sociologie religieuse* (2 vols., Paris, 1956), esp. II, 546-57.

³² "The Background of the Parliamentary Reform Movement in Three English Cities, 1830-2," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, X (1952), 293-317 and "Social Structure and Politics in Birmingham and Lyons (1825-1848)," *British Journal of Sociology*, I, no. 1 (1950), 67-80.

³³ Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War* (Cambridge, Eng., 1944).

³⁴ Cf. the report of the Social Science Research Council Seminar on Research in Comparative Politics, *American Political Science Review*, XLVII (Sept., 1953), 641-75; Roy Macridis, *The*

raphies, and many more occupations and industries, in their settings of period and place, as, with fond intensity and imaginative erudition, Georges Duveau has studied the workers of the Second Empire,³⁵ before we can safely generalize. But men will, as men should, generalize long before they can safely generalize.

Here I have thought that modest ground-clearing considerations would be most useful. To assume my share of responsibility, however, I offer a few working hypotheses. For some of them, the nature of the evidence has been hinted at in the preceding pages; for others, not even that. They are not meant to be "laws" or "universal" but merely to sum up a few aspects of the experience of the past 150 years in one area of the world, an area full of intriguing differences yet with enough homogeneity in culture and industrial development to make generalization valid and comparison significant.

Economic development is process, environment, and goal; it provides a framework, and sets problems, for man's capacities for political and social action.

Rapid growth in the early stages of industrialization generates protest by reason of the bewildering dislocations and (for many) the sacrifices out of current consumption which it imposes. Continued economic growth permits the satisfaction of much of this protest. But some attitudes of protest persist well beyond the economic conditions which aroused them.

Sluggish economic growth may generate the deepest and longest lasting protest by reason of the society's inability to provide well-being and social justice to match social aspirations and by reason of the economic elite's failure to inspire confidence. Slow growth of cities and slow recruitment of the industrial work force facilitate the carry-over of traditions of protest from generation to generation.

The gradual delineation of the separate (but overlapping) spheres and organizations of political and industrial protest makes for reconciliation and absorption of protest in each sphere.

Study of Comparative Government (Garden City, 1955). On comparative labor history, see Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York, 1928); Adolf Sturmthal, *Unity and Diversity in European Labor* (Glencoe, Ill., 1953); Walter Galenson, ed., *Comparative Labor Movements* (New York, 1952), pp. ix-xiv; Lewis L. Lorwin, *Labor and Internationalism* (New York, 1929), esp. chap. xxiv. In "Recent Research on Western European Labor Movements," *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association* (Madison, 1955), pp. 69-80, I have summarized a few of the main lines of labor history in publications since 1946.

³⁵ *La Vie ouvrière en France sous le Second Empire* (Paris, 1946) and *La Pensée ouvrière sur l'éducation pendant la Seconde République et le Second Empire* (Paris, 1948).

The labor movements most dependent on the state may show the greatest hostility to the state. The working classes best integrated with their national communities are those which have built labor movements that are more or less autonomous centers of power.

The successive phases of a nation's economic development are not inevitably reflected in corresponding attitudes and behavior of labor protest. Moreover, different phases of development exist side by side in the same regions and industries. Different forms of working-class politics also exist side by side.

National differences shape the response of workers and labor movements to economic change. These differences are only in part due to the differences in patterns of economic development. In large part they are due to noneconomic factors—politics and religion, cultural patterns and class structure—and to historical accident and personalities. ("Everything is dependent on everything," however, and most of the noneconomic factors are themselves conditioned by economic change.)

These are a few of the problems on which we need further descriptive findings and further comparative analysis. Comparative studies may remind those of us who wear monographic spectacles to look up to the horizon from time to time and may remind those who strain at the horizon to put on the spectacles occasionally for closer observation.

It is to the more modest forms of comparative historical work that I refer, not to the abused "grand manner" of universal history. Yet even modest comparative studies will help put our problems in their broader settings of the history of man's relation to his work and his fellows, of the history of social organization and political striving, of the endless searches for justice, order, and freedom.

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English Nonconformity and the Decline of Liberalism*

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BY 1914 the Liberalism which had been the animating force of Victorian England and which experienced a vigorous renaissance in Edwardian England seemed to have spent itself, unable to cope with the problems besetting Britain on the eve of the First World War. An essential part of this greatness and decline of Liberalism was the greatness and decline of English Nonconformity—the Protestant sects dissenting from the Church of England.¹ During the nineteenth century Nonconformists had been characterized by religious vitality and political strength, forming what Gladstone called “the backbone of British Liberalism.”² Seemingly more powerful than ever before at the beginning of the twentieth century, they contributed to and shared in the Liberal party triumph of 1906. Yet by 1914 it was apparent that Nonconformity, like Liberalism, had faltered; by the 1920’s its religious vitality had markedly weakened and its political influence was negligible.³ It is the purpose of this article to examine the crisis of English Liberalism in terms of the crisis of the Nonconformist conscience. The theme is significant because Liberalism—whether regarded as a political party, an economic creed, or a frame of mind—throughout its history was closely related to Nonconformity, from which it drew constant spiritual nourishment and material strength.⁴

* This article was originally read at a symposium on “The Liberal Age: Elements of Dissent, Instability and Unrest” at a meeting of the American Historical Association at New York, December 30, 1954. I am indebted to the American Council of Learned Societies for a scholarship which aided in the research for this paper.

¹ English Nonconformity embraces a wide theological spectrum, including Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Unitarians. In this article I shall follow the customary practice of using the collective terms “Nonconformity,” “Dissent,” and “Free Churches” interchangeably to designate all the Protestant groups outside the Church of England. “Dissent,” the standard term in the eighteenth century, had become somewhat old-fashioned by the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was superseded by “Nonconformity” in popular usage. The modern Nonconformist preference for “Free Churches” may be dated officially from the formation of the National Free Church Council in 1892.

² This famous phrase was apparently first used by Gladstone in an article, “The County Franchise and Mr. Lowe Thereon,” *Nineteenth Century*, II (Nov., 1877), 552.

³ In 1926 Dr. Albert Peel wrote: “It is probably true to say that the Free Churches have less political influence at the moment than at any time during the past century, that never since the Reform Bill of 1832 has the ‘Nonconformist conscience’ counted for so little in the counsels of the nation.” C. Silvester Horne, *A Popular History of the Free Churches, With Additional Chapter, 1903–1926*, by Albert Peel (London, 1926), pp. 427–28.

⁴ There are few scholarly studies dealing specifically with the political role of the Noncon-

The term "Nonconformist conscience" first came into popular usage as a by-product of the Parnell affair in 1890. It was largely owing to Nonconformist pressure that Gladstone repudiated Parnell, a convicted adulterer and perjurer, and thus ensured his fall as leader of the Irish Parliamentary party. As the Methodist preacher Hugh Price Hughes thundered: "We stand immovably on this eternal rock; what is morally wrong can never be politically right."⁵ Though the Nonconformist conscience became best known as the custodian of a censorious personal morality, it stood for much more than that narrow aspect of Puritanism; it was the "insistence upon the authority of moral principle in all matters of public policy."⁶ In the broadest sense, the Nonconformist conscience embraced the whole of the Nonconformist political outlook.

In the nineteenth century this outlook was conditioned by three factors: the strict moral code and humanitarian zeal inculcated by Evangelicalism, the bitter sense of grievance engendered by the civil disabilities and social discrimination suffered by Dissenters, and the middle-class character of Nonconformity. The division between "church" and "chapel" cut deep into the everyday life of Victorian England, so that Nonconformists "grew up in the centre of the national life a separate and peculiar people."⁷ Yet the Evangelical revival had made these chapel-folk strong in numbers and energy, and

formists or with the relationship between Nonconformity and Liberalism in the nineteenth century and after. The gap for the early nineteenth century has recently been filled by Raymond G. Cowherd, *The Politics of English Dissent: The Religious Aspects of Liberal and Humanitarian Reform Movements from 1815 to 1848* (New York, 1956), but there is no comparable work for the period stressed in this article. H. F. Lovell Cocks, *The Nonconformist Conscience* (London, 1943) is a valuable critical interpretation, and William George Addison, *Religious Equality in Modern England, 1714-1914* (London, 1944) is useful as a narrative of the ecclesiastical aspect of Dissenting politics. Ernest A. Payne, *The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England* (London, 1944) is an objective and well-documented brief survey. The Methodists have been better served by historians than the other Free Churches, for the period since 1850: Maldwyn Edwards, *Methodism and England: A Study of Methodism in Its Social and Political Aspects during the Period 1850-1932* (London, 1943) and Robert F. Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Struggle of the Working Classes, 1850-1900* (Leicester, 1954). The mainstream of Nonconformist politics from the 1830's to the 1920's may be followed in four biographies: Arthur Miall, *The Life of Edward Miall* (London, 1884), A. W. W. Dale, *The Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham* (New York, 1899), [Dorothea Price Hughes], *The Life of Hugh Price Hughes* (London, 1904), and Sir James Marchant, *Dr. John Clifford, C. H., Life, Letters and Reminiscences* (London, 1924). The standard works on John Bright, a Quaker, and Joseph Chamberlain, a Unitarian, are also useful; J. L. Garvin and Julian Amery, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (4 vols. to date, London, 1932-) is fuller and more suggestive, especially in Volume I, on the role of Nonconformity than George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (Boston, 1913).

⁵ Hughes, *Life*, p. 353.

⁶ Cocks, *Nonconformist Conscience*, p. 35. Cocks claims that this insistence was the Nonconformists' "supreme contribution to our English politics."

⁷ *Inquirer*, Dec. 16, 1871. Augustine Birrell, the son of a prominent Baptist minister in Liverpool, compared the division between Nonconformists and Anglicans in the 1860's to "Offa's dyke . . . broad, deep and practically impassable, cutting clean through social life." *Things Past Redress* (London, 1937), p. 38.

they belonged predominantly to that middle class which was rising to economic power with the industrial revolution and to political power with the changes following the Reform Act of 1832. "Political Dissent," the movement for religious equality, had as its natural ally the individualistic Liberalism of the Manchester School. Attacking landed and Anglican Conservatism, the agitations for free trade and free church went hand in hand.⁸

Both Nonconformity and Radicalism found their strength in the commercial and industrial centers of provincial England. In those flourishing cities the leading members of the Nonconformist chapels were the local captains of industry, the spearheads of municipal reform, and the magnates of the local Liberal party. Nonconformist families such as the Rathbones and Holts of Liverpool, the Chamberlains and Cadburys of Birmingham, the Peases and Backhouses of Darlington, the Salts and Illingworths of Bradford, the Baineses and Kitsons of Leeds, formed an urban governing class which, through intermarriage and business and political associations, had national ramifications. Nonconformity instilled in them a strong sense of public as well as private duty. Jeremiah Colman, the Norwich mustard manufacturer, wrote his future wife shortly before their marriage in 1856: "Talents consecrated to God are what the world and the Church wants. . . . I hope we shan't live an idle selfish existence, for I am sure it won't be a happy one if we do, and we must guard against it. Influence, position and wealth are not given for nothing, and we must try and use them as we should wish at the last we had done."⁹ In the course of the century the Nonconformist ministry increasingly turned from unworldly pietism to preach the doctrine that political responsibility was a religious duty. R. W. Dale of Birmingham insisted: "In a country like this, where the public business of the state is the private duty of every citizen, those who decline to use their political power are guilty of treachery both to God and to man."¹⁰

⁸ Thus, the year 1841 witnessed a conference of Dissenting ministers in Manchester to protest against the Corn Laws and the founding of the *Nonconformist* newspaper by Edward Miall. The first event has been called "really a starting point in the public life of the Free Churches" by J. Guinness Rogers, *An Autobiography* (London, 1903), p. 80; the second launched the powerful movement for the separation of church and state. Miall, the founder in 1844 of the influential British Anti-State Church Association or Liberation Society, was a Radical who supported both the Anti-Corn Law League and moral-force Chartism. The orator of the League, John Bright, was Miall's friend and political colleague from 1840 until Miall's death in 1881. See Miall, *Life*, R. A. J. Walling, ed., *The Diaries of John Bright* (New York, 1931), p. 463, and Cowherd, "The Politics of English Dissent, 1832-1848," *Church History*, XXIII (June, 1954).

⁹ Helen Caroline Colman, *Jeremiah James Colman, A Memoir* (London, 1905), p. 134. Colman was a Gladstonian Liberal M. P. for Norwich from 1871 to 1895. The quotation throws light on D. W. Brogan's reflection on modern England that "no one has succeeded in doing what Nonconformity did: in giving a prosperous bourgeoisie a sense of duty and a sense of social obligation." *The English People* (New York, 1943), p. 94.

¹⁰ Dale, *Life*, p. 250. The quotation is from a public speech in 1864. Dale, eminent Con-

Dale's activity in municipal and national Liberal politics was in striking contrast to the strictly religious interests of his long-time predecessor at Carrs Lane Chapel, John Angell James. This change was typical of orthodox Nonconformists, and it was accompanied by an increasing strain in their relations with their seemingly natural religious allies, the Evangelicals in the Church of England. During the 1860's there was a growing breach between the Evangelicals and the Dissenters. This was partly because many leading Nonconformists, such as Dale, had come into closer sympathy with the tolerant spirit of the Broad Churchmen while the Low Churchmen held their Evangelical orthodoxy with rigidity and even intolerance. The chief source of difference, however, was political, for, "as a rule, the Evangelicals were staunch upholders of what was called 'The Establishment,' and were almost without exception Conservatives."¹¹

The later 1860's and the 1870's brought an intensification of the Liberalism of Nonconformity. The Reform Act of 1867 and the emergence of a Liberal party led by Gladstone and blessed by Bright created conditions which drew Nonconformists more fully into the arena of national politics. The harvest of individualistic Liberalism had its fruits for political Dissent in the abolition of compulsory church-rates, the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the removal of religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge. Though it originally precipitated a Nonconformist revolt, the Education Act of 1870 proved favorable to Nonconformist interests. Disestablishment of the Church of England was in the air in the 1870's. The Liberal party increasingly became a vehicle for humanitarian and moral causes in which even formerly nonpolitical Dissenters were interested—peace, temperance, repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

Above all, Gladstone approached politics with a moral passion which had an almost idolatrous appeal to Dissenters of all sects and social strata. As earlier with Irish disestablishment and later with Home Rule, Nonconformists in the late 1870's made up the New Model Army of Gladstone's crusade against Bulgarian atrocities and Disraelian imperialism. The Eastern ques-

gregational theologian and pastor at Carrs Lane Chapel from 1854 to 1895, was a prominent colleague of Joseph Chamberlain and other Nonconformist ministers and laymen in the civic renaissance of Birmingham.

¹¹ George W. E. Russell, *A Short History of the Evangelical Movement* (London, 1915), p. 116. For the bitter disputes between the Nonconformists and the Evangelicals in the 1860's, see Herbert S. Skeats and Charles S. Miall, *History of the Free Churches of England, 1688-1891* (London, [1891]), pp. 569-79. The divergent attitudes towards the Established Church were at the root of the problem. Even in the earlier period, as Raymond G. Cowherd has pointed out: "However great as humanitarian reformers, the Evangelical Churchmen and Wesleyan Methodists were not liberal reformers." *The Politics of English Dissent*, p. 166.

tion formed a turning point in Nonconformist as well as English politics. The Nonconformist conscience became one with the national conscience as interpreted by the High Churchman Gladstone. "It is too commonly believed that 'political Dissent' means nothing more nor less than antagonism to the Establishment," wrote J. G. Rogers, a prominent Congregational minister and Liberal politician.

It really means the subordination of politics to Christian principles. One result of this would, in the judgment of Nonconformists, be the removal of all invidious distinctions resting on the ground of religious opinion, but the principle is of much wider application. It covers the entire area of international relations, and here Mr. Gladstone is recognized by the Nonconformists as one of the very few statesmen who feel that the law of Christ is to govern nations as well as individuals.¹²

By 1880 Nonconformity was substantially absorbed into the Liberal party. Even the ancient conservatism of Wesleyan Methodism—never a part of traditional "political Dissent"—was giving way to active Liberalism.¹³ At this high tide of political solidarity and enthusiasm in the chapels, the leading Nonconformist newspaper declared:

Since the beginning of the century . . . it is certain that Britain has, in the intervals of her blindness, had some inspiring visions of the kingdom of justice one day to be established among men, and it is not to be denied that, taken broadly, the Liberal party has striven to follow the fiery pillar of conscience into this promised land. Like all human combinations it has had its good and evil, its truth and fallacy, its times of glory and disgrace. . . . But, speaking generally, it has striven to be "the party of Christ" . . . the party of moral principle as against that of selfish and corrupt interests, the party of peace as against that of violence, the party of popular improvement and reform as against that of resistance to progress, the party of justice as against that of despotic force or social disorder.

And the backbone of this party has been—to speak historically, without partisan reference [i.e., to Nonconformity]—the religious Protestantism and Puritanism of England. For a very good reason, because a party whose object it is to rule men's actions by a moral principle in legislation and government derives its force from conscience, and from the omnipotence which is behind it. . . . The strength of the Liberal party is, and always has been, in the force of individual and social

¹² *Congregationalist*, VIII (Oct., 1879), 862. For documentation of the interpretation of Nonconformist politics in this era, see John F. Glaser, *Nonconformity and Liberalism, 1868–1885: A Study in English Party History* (manuscript doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1949). References to the relationship of Gladstone and the Nonconformists may be found in John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (New York, 1903), II, pp. 134–35, 505–506. For an important conversion of a Wesleyan Methodist to Liberalism in this period, see Hughes, *Life*, pp. 79 ff., 113, 119–21.

¹³ Hugh Price Hughes, the leading Wesleyan Methodist minister of the latter part of the century, was the chief influence in hastening the natural Wesleyan drift to Liberalism. See Edwards, *Methodism and England*, p. 149. Edwards regards the founding of the *Methodist Times* by Hughes in 1885 as "a convenient date for marking the beginnings of a dominant Liberalism within the Methodist Church" (p. 168).

conscience. It is a power which, like a mighty river in flood, must eventually carry everything before it, since it is in the nature of right to win at last.¹⁴

If "the party of conscience" was much like "a secular church,"¹⁵ certain of the Nonconformist churches tended to acquire the attributes of "political caucuses."¹⁶ The caucus had, in fact, been born among Birmingham Dissenters. But in fusing with the Liberal party, in acquiring the political habit, Nonconformity became more exposed to the fissures which increasingly cleft that party from the 1880's to the First World War. The bulk of the Nonconformists—and especially the Nonconformist ministry—accepted Gladstone's view of Irish Home Rule as a moral issue, but an influential minority followed Chamberlain and Bright, Dale and Spurgeon, into Liberal Unionism. At the turn of the century, another imperial issue, the Boer War, split Dissent more drastically. In both cases, political division entailed some dissension within the churches. Of special significance was the personal tragedy of Dr. Dale, probably the finest representative of Victorian Nonconformity. The bitterness engendered by Home Rule caused him to withdraw not only from the pro-Gladstonian Congregational Union in 1888 but also almost entirely from public work. His disillusionment led him to oppose the formation of the potentially political Free Church Councils in 1892 and to warn against the organized interference of churches in politics.¹⁷

Of all the issues which divided Nonconformists, it was socialism which had the most fateful influence on Nonconformity as a political and religious force. It is well known that the Nonconformist chapel provided one of the seed-beds of the Labour movement, and that Nonconformity helped to awaken the working classes to political consciousness. The early "Lib-Lab" M.P.'s, such as Burt, Broadhurst, Arch, Abraham, and Pickard, were usually Dissenters and often lay preachers, and they shared the predilections of Nonconformist Radicalism. Nor were middle-class Nonconformists reluctant to modify extreme individualism to meet the demands of municipal efficiency, notably in Birmingham under Chamberlain's leadership, or the challenges of working-class misery, dramatized by another Dissenter in *The Bitter Cry*

¹⁴ *Nonconformist and Independent*, Jan. 1, 1880. This leading article, entitled "Conscience in Politics," exemplifies the frequent Nonconformist use of the word "conscience" before the actual term "Nonconformist conscience" was coined.

¹⁵ This was Dale's retrospective description of the Liberal party in Birmingham in the 1860's and 1870's. *Life*, pp. 634-35.

¹⁶ Howard Evans, a Radical politician, protested against "making the assemblies of the Congregational Union a branch of the Birmingham Caucus," in a letter to the *Nonconformist and Independent*, June 4, 1885. "Not yet has it been made an article in our unwritten creed that a man must have unbounded faith in the Prime Minister [Gladstone] which, unless he possesses, he shall without doubt perish everlastingly."

¹⁷ Dale, *Life*, pp. 583-88, 646-50, *passim*.

of *Outcast London*.¹⁸ But the spread of socialist ideas and the appearance of an Independent Labour party in the 1890's posed a dilemma which neither Nonconformity nor Liberalism was ultimately able to solve. Middle-class Nonconformists were torn between, on the one hand, humanitarianism and traditional alliance with the working classes and, on the other hand, self-interest and traditional individualism. There was an unbridgeable chasm between Dr. Clifford's vision of "fellowship with Socialists"¹⁹ and what Joseph Chamberlain once called "the decorous timidity of prosperous Dissent."²⁰ The leading London Liberal paper probably reflected the attitude of the typical middle-class Dissenter, as it certainly did of Gladstone, in not distributing its enthusiasm equally between the East End docker and the Bulgarian peasant.²¹ Despite attempts by some ministers to preach a gospel of "Social Christianity," it seems just to conclude that Nonconformity, on the whole, was and remained basically individualistic.

These tensions within Nonconformity helped to give the Liberal party its ambivalent attitude toward social and economic questions. In the crucial decade of the 1890's the failure of Liberalism to accommodate itself to working-class aspirations was partly owing to the key position of provincial Nonconformists in the party. In the North—especially in the West Riding of Yorkshire—the local Liberal leaders, who were usually Nonconformists, were often large employers of labor. As a result, the Liberal party appeared to be committed to the point of view of the employers as opposed to that of the employed.²² Bradford, long a stronghold of Nonconformist Liberalism, is a classic example of the resulting tensions. The M.P. for West Bradford was Alfred Illingworth, rich worsted spinner, ardent Gladstonian, and old-time Nonconformist Radical of national prominence. In the General Election of 1892 he was opposed by an Independent Labour candidate, Ben Til-

¹⁸ This pamphlet, written in 1883 by the secretary of the London Congregational Union, Rev. Andrew Mearns, had the effect of calling public attention to the condition of the London poor and led to the appointment of a Royal Commission on Housing. See Helen Merrell Lynd, *England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom* (New York, 1945), pp. 147-48.

¹⁹ Marchant, *Clifford*, p. 147.

²⁰ Chamberlain, "The Next Page of the Liberal Programme," *Fortnightly Review*, XVI, NS (Oct., 1874), p. 406. During the Nonconformist agitation over Forster's Education Bill in 1870, a provincial Quaker observed that "as things go on the caste feeling comes out strongly, and some of the Committee doubt the policy of appealing to the working men." Arthur Tilney Bassett, *The Life of the Rt. Hon. John Edward Ellis, M. P.* (London, 1914), p. 30.

²¹ This criticism of the *Daily News*, which was regarded as an organ of Nonconformist opinion, was made by H. W. Massingham, *The London Daily Press* (New York, 1892), p. 70.

²² In September, 1891, Robert Reid, the future Lord Loreburn, wrote in concern about this problem to Francis Schnadhorst, the Liberal party organizer. In forwarding Reid's letter to Gladstone, Schnadhorst expressed his agreement and also noted that the prominence given to Scottish disestablishment by some Nonconformists was irritating to those who felt the urgency of social questions, British Museum Add. MSS. 44295, f. 249.

lett, who attacked him as a capitalist and employer. Though Tillett was himself a Nonconformist and had many Nonconformist supporters, organized Nonconformity rallied to the cause of Illingworth, who won the three-cornered race by a narrow margin. A few months later the outraged Bradford Labourites formed a Labour Church, drawing some members from the Dissenting chapels and from those with Dissenting backgrounds. And before the next General Election Illingworth retired from public life, disgusted with what he regarded as the Liberal party's retreat from individualism on economic issues.²³

Although Nonconformity was weakened by political divisions over socialism and imperialism, it helped to commit the Liberal party to causes which were becoming increasingly uncongenial and even alien to large sections of the new democracy.²⁴ Liberalism in the 1890's appeared to many working-class voters as a Crotchet Castle, from which dreary teetotaling Dissenters launched raids on pubs, music halls, and politicians cited in divorce cases. In the Parnell affair, Nonconformists were simply defending the universal moral code of older Victorians, but the growing secularism and hedonism of English society was increasingly isolating puritanical Nonconformity. A conscience which criticized Lord Rosebery's horse racing²⁵ and which considered "the three deadly enemies of England" to be "drink, impurity, and gambling"²⁶ was not wholly in touch with what the *Christian World* hopefully called middle-class Puritanism's "newly-organised allies in the army of labour."²⁷ It was, indeed, the Liberal government's unpopular bills for local veto on the sale of intoxicating liquors which helped to bring on the disastrous Liberal defeat in the General Election of 1895.²⁸

When the Liberals finally returned to office ten years later, they were aided by the wave of Nonconformist agitation against the Balfour government's Education Act of 1902. Free Churchmen of all political camps—Gladstonian

²³ *British Weekly*, June 16, 1892; Oct. 25, 1894; and *Methodist Times*, June 16, 1892; June 30, 1892; Aug. 18, 1892. For a discussion of "Labour and the Churches," see Henry Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party, 1880-1900* (London, 1954), pp. 132 ff.

²⁴ Thus, the famous "Newcastle Programme," adopted by the National Liberal Federation and endorsed by Gladstone in October, 1891, gave prominence to disestablishment in Wales and Scotland and to local veto on the sale of liquor. R. H. Gretton, *A Modern History of the English People* (Boston, 1913), I, 299-300.

²⁵ Hugh Price Hughes attributed Rosebery's "fall" from influence to "his aristocratic indifference to the Nonconformist Conscience"—an indifference which "was passionately applauded by the racing fraternity, the pothouse politicians, the enemies of decency in music-halls, and all the scum and refuse of every grade of English society." *Methodist Times*, Oct. 15, 1896.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1895.

²⁷ Nov. 20, 1890.

²⁸ After this election Canon Scott Holland wrote: "Down goes the middle-class Radicalism and the Nonconformist conscience. They lie smashed in ruins. How shall we do without them? It will be an immense and most perilous shifting of centres." Quoted in L. E. Elliott-Binns, *Religion in the Victorian Era* (London, 1936), p. 407.

Home Rulers and Liberal Unionists, pro-Boers and Liberal Imperialists, old-fashioned Radicals and I.L.P. socialists—united against this measure, which they denounced as endowing Anglican schools and putting a hardship on Nonconformist children in “single-school” areas. Dr. Clifford, the prominent Baptist minister whose political career extended from Chartism to Fabianism, led a passive resistance movement in which many Nonconformists refused to pay school rates, preferring the martyrdom of prison or distraint upon their goods. This rebellion, blessed by the Liberal leadership, was the first and mildest of the revolts against lawful authority which rocked Britain before 1914. While the agitation against the Education Act seemed to show the power of Nonconformity, it made organized Nonconformity more political than ever before, and modern Free Churchmen are unanimous in condemning the wisdom of passive resistance, with its “cheapening of conscience by making it a ‘matter of faction.’”²⁹

In retrospect, this last stand of Nonconformity was an artificial resurgence. The seeming strength of Dissent was illusory; its very prosperity concealed an inner weakness. Despite outward signs of vitality, the number of those who regularly attended Nonconformist services steadily declined during the years before the First World War. The falling off was especially marked among the educated and the young. The saying that “a carriage never goes to a meeting-house for three generations” expressed an ancient truth of English social history. But the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth saw an acceleration of the familiar process by which the upper stratum of Dissent was absorbed into an Anglican and Conservative upper class—a loss no longer accompanied by compensating accessions from the classes below. The full opening of the older universities to Nonconformists in the 1870’s opened the way to professional careers and opportunities hitherto inaccessible and hastened the escape of many young Nonconformists from what Matthew Arnold called “the prison of Puritanism.”³⁰

At the beginning of the twentieth century the Nonconformist *haute bourgeoisie* was losing the local influence which had distinguished it throughout the Victorian era. Through the growth of limited liability companies and outside management, the expanding family firms were abandoning their patri-

²⁹ A. H. Dodd, “The Nonconformist Conscience in Public Life,” *Hibbert Journal*, XXXVI (Jan., 1938), 223.

³⁰ Arnold, “Equality,” *Fortnightly Review*, XXIII, NS (Mar., 1878), 326. On the decline of Nonconformity at the turn of the century, see Élie Halévy, *A History of the English People in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1952), VI, Book I, pp. 73 ff. The death of W. H. Wills, Lord Winterstoke, the British tobacco magnate, in 1911 occasioned a typical lament: “He deserves to be held in honourable remembrance as one of those—too few, alas!—who have resisted the temptations of riches and social advancement to become recreant to Free Church principles.” *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*, V, no. 1 (1911–12), 1–2.

archal character, with the personal bond between employer and employed. Municipal government could less often rely on the services of the old Nonconformist governing families, partly because these were being edged out by the new working-class democracy and partly because wealth was taking them into the ranks of the landed gentry or an indifferent rentier class. This was a phenomenon lamented by Beatrice Webb, who observed in 1899:

Munificent public work has been done at Liverpool by some of the wealthy Unitarian families, but these families are petering out, and the sons are not worthy of the fathers. Whether this is inevitable to all families, or the bad effect of two or three generations of luxury, I do not know. The present generation of rich folk want to enjoy themselves, find nothing to resist, no class or creed interest to fight for, so that they have ceased to consider anything but their pleasures.³¹

Nonconformity had, indeed, become rich and was more than ever limited to the prosperous middle class. The passive resistance movement notwithstanding, "militant witness-bearing" was a thing of the past. Dr. Fairbairn complained in 1897: "It is perhaps harder to be a Nonconformist to-day than it has ever been in the history of England. The very decay of the disabilities from which our fathers suffered has made it harder to us than it was to them to dissent."³² More bitter was the assertion of a Nonconformist minister writing anonymously in 1909: "Nonconformity is not, it must be confessed, in the way of making saints. That is a secret which it has somehow lost. Its whole atmosphere is not the atmosphere wherein sainthood grows." He attributed this "loss of distinctly spiritual power" to Nonconformity's exclusive absorption in "political activity for political ends."³³

This sense of spiritual loss, admitted by the few, was accompanied by a more general feeling of political frustration. Had the Nonconformists delivered their conscience into the keeping of the National Liberal Federation? Had Dr. Dale been a prophet without honor in his warning that "the interference of organised churches with organised political societies has proved after all a false method of effecting the great objects of the Christian gospel?"³⁴ The fact that after 1906 almost two hundred Free Churchmen were sitting in the House of Commons and that the Liberal front bench was to a marked degree Nonconformist in origin³⁵ reflected the social complexion of

³¹ Webb, *Our Partnership* (New York, 1948), pp. 162-63. See also the Webbs' impressions of the changes in the municipal government of Leicester, pp. 166-67.

³² W. B. Selbie, *The Life of Andrew Martin Fairbairn* (London, 1914), p. 257.

³³ [A Nonconformist Minister], *Nonconformity and Politics* (London, 1909), pp. 139, 99.

³⁴ Dale, *Life*, p. 649.

³⁵ Halévy, *History*, VI, Book I, pp. 64-65. In the Cabinet, Asquith, Lloyd George, Birrell, Loreburn, Fowler, Bryce, and Haldane had Nonconformist connections. Fowler had been the first Wesleyan to sit in a Cabinet (1892), and Lloyd George was to become the first Nonconformist prime minister (1916).

Liberalism rather than the power of Nonconformity. Nor could that formidable phalanx force a new Education Bill, a Licensing Bill, or Welsh disestablishment through the House of Lords. The years after 1906 were years of disappointment and frustration for Free Churchmen. The failure of three Liberal ministers in their attempts to redress educational grievances was especially galling. "Some of us felt at the time that they did not try very hard," a leading Congregational preacher recalled after some thirty years had passed.³⁶ Though supporting the Liberals against the Lords in the second General Election of 1910, W. R. Nicoll, the editor of the *British Weekly* and a personal friend of Lloyd George, privately admitted that "politicians on either side have done nothing for us."³⁷

On the eve of the war, Nonconformity, like official Liberalism, was politically exhausted and divided and hesitant as to the future. The issues in which Nonconformists were peculiarly interested, such as education and Welsh disestablishment, were only surface irritants outside of Wales. The old demand for disestablishment of the Church of England had all but disappeared. Temperance and other moral reforms associated with the Nonconformist conscience were even less popular and less representative of English opinion than they had been twenty years earlier. The so-called "middle-class morality" was being challenged not only by Shavian wit but by social practice. Religion no longer held the primary place in the lives of most Englishmen. For religious people, the vital issue was not church vs. chapel, but Christianity vs. unbelief. Dissent no longer carried with it a significant burden of legal or social disability. This emancipation of Nonconformists was a triumph of the Liberalism whose root was "respect for the dignity and worth of the individual."³⁸ But when the iron went out of the soul of Nonconformity—when Dissent ceased to dissent—the robust vitality of traditional Liberalism was weakened.

The Liberal government, which had come into office on the old issues of free trade and church vs. chapel, attempted to meet the problems of the new century with collectivistic measures at home and alliances abroad. Though they showed a constructive vigor, these departures from the Gladstonian faith left many Liberals uncomfortable survivors from the Victorian past. Sir Edward Grey's foreign policy, in particular, evoked exasperated protests from the Liberal press and provincial Liberalism.³⁹ More significant, from 1910 on

³⁶ J. D. Jones, *Three Score Years and Ten* (London, 1940), p. 230.

³⁷ T. H. Darlow, *William Robertson Nicoll, Life and Letters* (New York, 1925), p. 218.

³⁸ John, Viscount Morley, *Recollections* (New York, 1917), I, 21.

³⁹ See J. L. Hammond, C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* (New York, [1934]), pp. 149 ff.

the government had to lead a country paralyzed by factional disputes unprecedented since the 1830's. The revolt of the Conservatives over the Lloyd George budget and the Parliament Bill, the rise of syndicalism and the spread of strikes, the fury of the militant suffragettes, the defiance of Ulster and the threat of civil war in Ireland over the Home Rule Bill—all were rending the fabric of British society on the eve of the First World War. These struggles posed problems and involved methods with which Liberalism, based on government by discussion, was neither accustomed to deal nor able to cope. The coming of the war freed the Asquith government from these ordeals, but it added a new burden under which Liberalism collapsed. The war completed the undermining of the secure world in which Liberalism had performed its work. As has been seen, however, even before 1914 the decline of Nonconformity had as an inevitable consequence the decline of Liberalism. The ebbing of the Nonconformist conscience entailed the gradual loss of the Liberal party's practical political strength and, more important, the loss of the religious ethos and moral passion which had distinguished English Liberalism in its creative golden age.

Ripon College

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

L'ÉPOQUE CONTEMPORAINE: A LA RECHERCHE D'UNE CIVILISATION NOUVELLE. By *Maurice Crouzet*. [Histoire Générale des Civilisations, Tome VII.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 821. 3,00 fr.)

PERHAPS because they have so long been compiling those encyclopedic manuals which small schoolchildren carry home in their satchels every night, Frenchmen are immensely skilled at bringing together vast amounts of information and giving it a pleasing shape. When they do it well, they do it very well. The series edited by Maurice Crouzet, *Inspecteur général de l'instruction publique*, to which he now contributes the final volume, is a model of synthesis. Better than any other, it justifies its generic title. If it is centered on Europe, it does more than bow to the Orient and the Americas, and it makes a great deal more than perfunctory gestures in the direction of science, philosophy, and literature. Indeed, its summaries of these fields do the impossible better than anyone might expect. And if, considering this last seventh volume, it still seems somewhat patchy, this is only because no one has yet discovered how to move successfully from Bergson and Heidegger to collective farms and President Truman without betraying some change of pace and shift of direction. Crouzet has taken the world of the last fifty years for his discourse; it is no wonder he occasionally stuns his readers with the variety of his talk.

What strikes one straight away, of course, is the telling use of figures: the percentages, the tonnages, acreages, population figures, the facts on housing, poverty, famine, machine progress. A tremendous accumulation of statistical information has been drawn upon. In this respect, the author may tend to err through excess of arithmetical zeal (do we need to know that Bello Horizonte increased its population 91 per cent in ten years?), but that is a small matter set beside the service performed, the theme of growth and expansion hammered home. Politics and diplomacy are not left out, but they are certainly reduced to a place unusually small in the total picture. It would be a shock to any venturesome undergraduate from this part of the world to discover just how small. (Some readers, however, remembering the distribution of space in the Halphen and Sagnac series, for example, might think Crouzet's emphasis well chosen.) Hitler and Mussolini do not often appear so reduced in stature. Goering has no more entries in the index than

Charlie Chaplin. Clemenceau has fewer than Ernest Hemingway. Yet the basic facts seem still to be here.

There are gaps, of course. A Canadian, for instance, might feel there is too little here about the Commonwealth. But doubtless others would find similar faults close to home. If there is any exception to the underplaying of the political, it is in the sections on Russia. Plainly, and perhaps rightly, the author considers the emergence of the Soviet Union to be the great fact of the contemporary world. To say no more, his attitude toward the regime is guarded. One wonders, as one goes along, is it merely one's North American touchiness, or are the strictures on the United States not rather more conventional and barbed than any of the comments about the Stalin era? Will time and distance justify characterization of American intellectual and university circles as now enjoying "a counter enlightenment," while the Soviet scene is dismissed obliquely as being the product of "the special conditions in which the Soviet Union has existed since 1917"? The general breadth and understanding of this book are admirable, but it is sometimes rather marked in this way by the milieu of Paris in the fifties—which may not be a great disadvantage, but certainly ought to be noted. And it might as well be said right here that if your bibliographical references for the United States in 1957 are going to be Charles and Mary Beard, André Siegfried, Simone de Beauvoir, and Stetson Kennedy (to name the more prominent), then you owe someone an explanation.

Some of the best parts deal with the East, above all, with China. The sections on Africa are very good. But, more specifically, where North Africa is concerned, one might feel that there is a certain amount of soft-pedaling. Still, on the whole, Crouzet gets a lot more pluses than minuses. Indeed, it cannot be said too often that the range of material he commands is impressive. At times his eye for the illuminating illustration is very keen and, in French, amusing ("Ce qui est bon pour le *General Motors* est bon pour l'Amérique").

If, on the other hand, you ask for the general thesis of this work, you will be hard put to state it simply; there are so many threads. Perhaps the statement he quotes toward the end, from P. Laroque, best suggests the underlying approach: "the very brief liberal era, now at an end, never did more than sanctify an often theoretical legal freedom (and that for a minority of the world's population), while on the contrary it in many cases increased the economic restraints." What Crouzet has written about is how the world has been fighting its way out of the economic, scientific, and cultural past and about the many political experiences and encounters it has had along the way. The text is supported by a superb choice of striking photographs. Bulky and sometimes choppy as the book is, it is a considerable achievement. So far as I know, there is as yet no better single account of the first half of the twentieth century.

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JOHN C. CAIRNS

RACE AND CULTURE CONTACTS IN THE MODERN WORLD. By E. Franklin Frazier. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1957. Pp. ix, 338, xii. \$6.00.)

No book could be more timely or valuable today than a book dissecting the unhappy relations between the white and colored races of the world. It is just such a book that Professor Frazier, former president of the American Sociological Society, has tried to write. Yet for all his good will, industry, and sociological apparatus—or perhaps because of them—*Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World* adds nothing to either our knowledge or understanding.

To analyze the three “racial frontiers” of Asia, Africa, and the Americas, Frazier has divided his work into four parts: ecological organization, economic organization, political organization, and social organization. This unimaginative and mechanical plan leads to a good deal of repetition, and high flown terms like “ecological organization and symbiotic relations” do not compensate for the poverty of fresh and hard analysis. Only on the United States, which he has researched independently, does Frazier speak with some authority, although even here he is incomplete, omitting Chinese- and Japanese-Americans, for example. For other parts of the globe, he paraphrases a variety of secondary sources (including encyclopedia articles and such unreliable studies as those by Frederick L. Schuman on the Soviet Union) in a limp, almost lifeless, prose.

It is only too true, as Frazier says on nearly every page, that the white peoples have dominated the colored peoples, but one looks in vain for a fresh insight into this tragedy. Perhaps there is nothing more to say, yet the author notes that the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa and the Catholic Church in Brazil fostered different attitudes toward race. Why the difference? Again, we read that the plantation was one kind of institution in Indonesia and still another kind in South America; there is no satisfactory explanation for this. Elsewhere, Frazier hails the nationality policy of the Soviet Union without mentioning the maltreatment of certain minority groups during and since World War II. In still other places, he capsules Indian, Indonesian, and Chinese nationalist movements in a few paragraphs each that are far less informative than the best newspaper reports. These, and other examples that could be cited, suggest that the author rarely looked behind the surface of his readings.

In *Where Peoples Meet* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), Everett and Helen Hughes brilliantly explored “racial and ethnic frontiers” in a global setting. They proved that the comparative method could yield provocative generalizations about marginality and social mobility, racial prejudice, nationalism, and economic development, and that sociologists could write firmly, clearly, and without jargon. Above all, they recognized that, in an examination of “culture contacts,” the lighter skinned peoples are just as important a subject of study as the darker skinned. Frazier has a footnote to the Hugheses, as well as to Robert E. Park who inspired them, but there is no indication that he profited from their work.

Smith College

ARTHUR MANN

TOTALITARIAN DICTATORSHIP AND AUTOCRACY. By *Carl J. Friedrich* and *Zbigniew K. Brzezinski*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. xii, 346.)

Totalitarian Dictatorship and Autocracy belongs to that amphibious species of books which aspires to live in two different climates—the scholarly and the text-book markets. Professors Friedrich and Brzezinski, having taught together in a seminar on dictatorship, are as well qualified to realize their difficult double objective as any collaborators could be. One feels little of the conceptual and stylistic cleavage which so often mars a joint work. The volume's weakness lies rather in the authors' approach to the task of analyzing the nature of the totalitarian power system.

The authors' method of analysis is essentially institutional. They define totalitarian dictatorship in the simplest possible terms and then apply each element of the definition to Nazi, Fascist, and Russian Communist political reality. Totalitarian dictatorship is presented in an ideal type of six interrelated traits: a single party, an ideology, a terror mechanism, a communications monopoly, a directed economy, and a weapons monopoly. To all but the last of these features the authors devote separate sections of the book, discussing each trait on a comparative, empirical basis. The resultant structure has the great pedagogic merit of crystalline clarity. Inevitably, however, the institutional definition acquires primacy over its historical content, the static abstraction over the social reality it aims to comprehend. This is not to imply that the authors force the facts to fit their theoretical mold. Their factual command is broad, their discrimination careful. But when the facts do not comply, they are forced out of the discussion in favor of maintaining the integrity of the mold. For example, army-party relations in Italy show a far higher measure of autonomy on the part of the military than was prevalent in Germany or Russia. This situation leads the authors not to explore the special conditions of Italian politics which made such army autonomy possible but rather to raise the question "whether Italy may legitimately be included as an example of a totalitarian system." On the same principle, Franco's Spain, Pilsudski's Poland, and other states that do not fully lend themselves to the a priori, taxonomic method of Friedrich and Brzezinski are disqualified as totalitarian dictatorships.

The a priori institutional approach to totalitarianism, although it illuminates certain features of the system, cannot come to grips with its dynamics. The volume will show the student the means whereby power is exercised but not the motive forces which give the power system its drive and meaning. Here the authors' explicit elimination of the problem of the origins of totalitarianism weakens their analysis. The social and intellectual tendencies that led to the formation of totalitarian movements continued to color their development. Above all, the urge to "totality" itself—the psychological need for identification—demands recognition as an objective social factor, aside from the power drive of the leader. The tendency of the authors to reduce totalitarian ideas to a purely instrumental status

obscures this factor. Totalitarian ideologies can no longer be dismissed as "basically trite restatements of certain traditional ideas, arranged in an incoherent way that makes them highly exciting to weak minds." They contain a new, quite untraditional, if insidious, magic which fills spiritual needs too much ignored by the authors of the volume under review.

Quite apart from arriving at a deeper view of the dynamics of the totalitarian system, how can one formulate a theory of modern dictatorship without taking serious account of the theories which its intellectual exponents have put forth? Gentile is mentioned in *Totalitarian Dictatorship*, but not explicated; Carl Schmitt and Georg Lukacs, who, even if somewhat unorthodox, develop theories giving real insight into the value structure of their respective totalitarian systems, are wholly ignored. The authors base most of their discussion of totalitarian ideas on the words and deeds of practical leaders—Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini. No political scientists would teach the theory of constitutional government on the basis of such leaders as Washington, Gladstone, or Gambetta, without consideration of Locke, Montesquieu, and Mill. Why should the theory of totalitarianism be presented without reference to its own conceptions of its nature?

Before the subjective element, the self-image of a social system, is fully explored and grasped, an objective analysis of its social dynamics seems to this reviewer quite impossible. The abstract, descriptive-institutional approach of Friedrich and Brzezinski limits them to the search for "examples" of their own static principles. The book contains some illuminating and informative discussion on specific points, such as the Communist party's public confessional devices, the development of the Soviet educational system, and the function of plebiscites. It has the further merit of clarity in structure and definition, but these strengths are not enough to compensate for the work's lack of analytic depth.

Wesleyan University

CARL E. SCHORSKE

THE SOLDIER AND THE STATE: THE THEORY AND POLITICS OF CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS. By *Samuel P. Huntington*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 534. \$7.50.)

The traditional American attitude toward the military establishment has, in peacetime at least, been one of suspicion; one of the primary objectives of American legislators who deal with military affairs has seemed to be to protect our liberal democratic heritage from creeping militarism. Mr. Samuel Huntington disapproves of this and, at the very outset of his book, suggests that it is high time we changed our ways. "One of the more basic and obvious facts of our time," he writes, "is that changes in technology and international politics have combined to make security now the final goal of policy rather than its starting assumption. The functional imperative can no longer be ignored. Previously the primary question was: what pattern of civil-military relations is most compatible with Ameri-

can liberal values? Now this has to be supplanted by the more important issue: what pattern of civil-military relations will best maintain the security of the American nation?" Few readers will object to the first part of the statement, but the second half will strike some as an oversimplification. Where would Huntington's "functional imperative" carry us? It carries him to the conclusion that "the requisite for military security is a shift in basic American values from liberalism to conservatism" and to the puzzling suggestion that "modern man may well find his monastery in the Army" and that "the disciplined order of West Point has more to offer than the garish individualism of Main Street."

It is, however, entirely unfair to quote from the last chapter without taking into account the closely argued pages that go before. Huntington begins his book with something that is rarely tried and which, when tried, rarely comes off—a theoretical analysis of officership as a profession, the rise of the military profession in Western society, and the nature of the professional military mind. This section includes a curious chapter on civil-military relations in Germany and Japan in which the author becomes quite maudlin about the passing of the German General Staff and writes: "Despite what Herr [Theodor] Blank had to say, a democratic state is better defended by a professional force than by a democratic force"—a statement that will not please students of the Weimar period. But apart from this, the analysis is convincing and supports the author's argument that soldiering is a professional business and that an efficient society will see that its soldiers have the freedom to cultivate professional skills and a professional ethic.

The author then turns to the story of the labored and halting development of this professionalism in America. He includes, among other things, a brilliant treatment of the pioneer work of Sherman, Upton, and Luce and discusses the whole question of civilian control of the military, the misconceptions surrounding the concept of control, the difficulties caused by the failure of the Constitution to define clearly the authority and limits of the military, and the way in which popular prejudices have influenced experiments in control. The ideological constant in the United States, the author feels, is liberal suspicion of professionalism, and this has led repeatedly to attempts to "civilianize" the soldier, thus making him a less effective agent of the state. Dangerous before 1940, these attempts have become critically so since.

In his final section, Huntington discusses civil-military relations during and after the Second World War. In a searching analysis of the joint chiefs system and the Department of Defense, he lays bare weaknesses in these organizations that he believes are attributable to the fact that liberalism as a philosophy does not enable one to think realistically about war and its institutions. This leads him to the conclusion that we must abandon liberalism for something more sympathetic to the kind of professionalism that the age requires.

Huntington's book is always stimulating, even if occasionally exasperating. One does not have to agree with his conclusions to appreciate the extensive na-

ture of his research, the freshness of his data, the depth of his analysis, and the clarity of his style.

Princeton University

GORDON A. CRAIG

FROM THE CLOSED WORLD TO THE INFINITE UNIVERSE. By *Alexandre Koyré*. [Publications of the Institute of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University. Third Series: The Hideyo Noguchi Lectures, Volume VII.] (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1957. Pp. x, 313. \$5.00.)

EXPRESSED in somewhat different terms from the above title, the theme of this book is the replacement, in the wake of discoveries through the telescope and the Copernican theory, of the conception of an eighth sphere of the fixed stars by that of an infinite universe, and the resultant effect upon human thought about the relation of God to the universe. The story is for the most part told in their own words (in English translation) by scientists, philosophers, and theologians from Nicholas of Cusa to Leibniz, including Copernicus and Giordano Bruno, Digges and Gilbert, Kepler and Galileo, Descartes and Henry More, Malebranche, Newton and Bentley, Joseph Raphson, Newton (especially his further thought in the Latin edition of his *Opticks* and the second edition of the *Principia* and in his relation to Berkeley), and Samuel Clarke. This volume thus comes under the history of philosophy and the history of theology as much as it does under the history of science.

Koyré recognizes that "the Epicurean tradition was not a scientific one" and that the "deep metaphysical intuition" of Nicholas of Cusa "is marred by scientific conceptions that were not in advance of but rather behind his time." Bruno was not only not a scientist, but, as Mrs. Singer has said, "not a very good philosopher." Although the word "angel" does not appear in the index, it does so repeatedly in passages quoted: for instance, "any number of angels can be all together in the same place" (p. 116), which recalls the cliché so often incorrectly attributed to the medieval schoolmen, and "all substance, souls, angels and God are extended, and that the world, in the most literal sense of this word, is in God just as God is in the world" (p. 123).

The expression, "From the Closed World," of the title may mislead some readers. Koyré in the text speaks of "all the discussions about the infinite . . . so popular in the late Middle Ages"; the Aristotelian universe was eternal and so infinite in time; an objection of the new astronomers to the Ptolemaic system was that the diurnal revolution of the *Primum Mobile* approached too closely to infinite velocity; even spatially the empyrean heaven, beyond the sphere of the fixed stars, was infinite, and Digges's chief contribution was to combine the two in "the Court of the great God, the habitacle of the elect, and of the coelestiall angelles."

Mention might be made here of a book which lies just beyond Koyré's period, *An Original Theory or New Hypothesis of the Universe*, by Thomas Wright, to

whom, it has been said, "belongs the original idea of transcending Newton by carrying his conception of the solar system into the infinite world of the stars." In the first American edition (Philadelphia, 1837) from the London edition of 1750, the "Dedication to the American Public" speaks of English policy to "tie down the mind only to the mathematical measures of her favoured Mathematician, not Astronomer," but our author has "the bright conception of the millions of worlds." And, "Even in AMERICA the BOASTED land of freedom, no views of science except such as are founded on Newtonian dogmas are allowed the protection of our great schools."

Professor Koyré's text concludes as follows: "The infinite Universe of the New Cosmology, infinite in Duration as well as in Extension, in which eternal matter in accordance with eternal and necessary laws moves endlessly and aimlessly in eternal space, inherited all the ontological attributes of Divinity. Yet only those—all the others the departed God took away with Him." Whether any angels and human souls remain is not stated. But there is still a Santa Claus. Read on page 23, "a new spirit, the spirit of the Renaissance."

Columbia University

LYNN THORNDIKE

DOMINANT THEMES OF MODERN PHILOSOPHY: A HISTORY. By
George Boas. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1957. Pp. x, 660. \$6.75.)

GEORGE Boas, the unconventional, skeptical, original, and brilliant colleague and successor of Arthur O. Lovejoy in the teaching of philosophy at Johns Hopkins, has crowned thirty-five years of instruction in intellectual history with a volume that, in its choice of problems and figures and in organizing them about recurring and influential themes, is fresh and unorthodox, and in its analyses and judgments is penetrating, informed, and personal. As befits a scholar so closely associated with Lovejoy, Boas emphasizes those philosophic questions and answering ideas that have made the greatest impact on the general culture of their times, particularly on letters and on the arts, with which he has long been philosophically concerned. His volume will thus be indispensable for all students of modern intellectual and cultural history. They will find responsible and unhackneyed analyses of the philosophical structure and affiliations of the ideas that are central in their histories. Boas' criticisms, though exceedingly keen, are made with a genuine historical sense, always from the inside and never from a present-day, external position of his own. Even more than the fact that he entirely omits most of the fashionable philosophical schools of today ("Such men," he says, "are fairly well known to anyone likely to read this history") this method of criticism raises a doubt whether his unorthodox treatment will convert those analytic philosophers whose historical interests are not already developed. Where such interests are broad and deep, the book will come as an illuminating commentary and a rich store of fresh interpretations.

Boas abandons the familiar Hegelian pattern of the progress of the "schools"

of modern philosophy (whose ritualization he attributes to Windelband). Over half his pages deal with French thinkers; of twenty-one chapters, five go to the Germans and two to England, in which the idealist tradition receives almost as much space as the empirical. Two long chapters treat the philosophy of history, with acute comments on men such as Vico and Cournot. Many little-known figures are treated at some length: Arthur Collier, Richard Burthogge, and John Norris among the English, Charron, Cordemoy, Huet, and the Ideologists among the French. The analyses are usually as fresh and personal as the selection. Boas avoids expounding "systems," chooses significant themes, and seeks always to bring to light a thinker's underlying assumptions, about which he then raises pertinent questions. He has read carefully and acutely all the writings he discusses; though he attempts no bibliography, he usually refers to the one or two recent books he has found most illuminating.

In view of so bountiful a feast, it may be ungrateful to ask for more. Yet admirable as is the initial statement of historical method, the promise is hardly fulfilled. The author wisely begins: "I do not believe that it is possible to write a history of philosophy which is not a history of philosophic problems. . . . A history of philosophy must be an account of how certain specific philosophic problems arose and of how they were answered." The answers are here but scarcely the genesis of the questions, nor, lacking that, are the meaning and significance of the solutions. There was no room for "the general cultural atmosphere," and all biographical facts are omitted, "since only psychological data would have been relevant, and we have not enough of them to use satisfactorily." There is hardly even a date. We set out bravely with an explanation of the rise of the Renaissance "problem of authority," but thereafter, the principle applied is that all philosophers "begin their reflections by commenting on the works of their predecessors." It is hard to take this as adequate history. Thus not unnaturally, though in this instance quite conventionally, the major emphasis is on the problems of knowledge and epistemology. Yet there is scarcely a reference to the successive waves of scientific ideas that directly and indirectly raised all these problems about knowledge and its tests. Of the scientists, only Galileo receives separate treatment—as posing the problem of the subjectivity of secondary qualities.

Hence it is doubtful whether this volume, admirable as it is, has added much to the *history* of modern philosophy. But there is no question that it furnishes a wealth of indispensable materials to the future historian of those problems.

Columbia University

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, JR.

ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING, 1898–1903. By *Charles S. Campbell, Jr.* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 385. \$5.50.)

THIS is a judicious, well-written, and detailed account, based on the sources, of those events that led to the "Anglo-American understanding . . . reached be-

tween 1898 and 1903," which "has proved enduring." The book is strictly diplomatic history and ably done, though perhaps it is diplomatic history interpreted too narrowly for this reviewer's concept of what will prove to be the most fruitful kind of scholarly inquiry in the field. We are not likely to need another similar volume for several generations. On the other hand, the existence of this basic volume should not discourage further broad study of Anglo-American relations for the period. The author touches the wider aspects of the subject only occasionally, for example, when he remarks that this was the "age of transatlantic marriages in high places" and that this might almost suffice to explain "the rise of friendly feelings between America and Britain." But Professor Campbell makes a very good case for diplomats (especially Hay) and their ways: "Persistent, patient diplomatic negotiations by the United States and Britain, with Canada sometimes participating, were necessary" for the understanding between Britain and the States.

The sixteen chapters cover in an admirable manner the Spanish-American war, Alaska, Canadian and Central American disputes, the Boer war, the Samoan incidents, the Joint High Commission, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, the Hay-Herbert treaty, the Open Door, and the "Venezuelan Interlude." Not many particular interpretations are challenged directly, but here and there in Campbell's narrative there are interesting and provocative insights. He points out the influence of "relatively small interests, strategically placed" on "large matters of American policy" (for example, the town of Gloucester in disputes over fisheries). He takes into account the factor of personality in his estimate of the result of Lord Herschell's tragic accident. Of particular interest is his contention that "the whole theory of a British origin of Hay's notes [on the Open Door] has been overdone, and no material is known to exist in the British archives to support it." The notes, he declares, were not "advance payment for Britain's consent to modify the Clayton-Bulwer treaty in early 1900."

Two wars, the Spanish-American and the Boer, and the threat of a third, over Venezuela, played perhaps an indispensable role in producing the Anglo-American settlement. Only after the "excessive optimism of 1898 had ended" did the United States and Britain, "now better informed on the complex nature of the issues dividing them," turn "to a more modest, step-by-step procedure."

University of Buffalo

RICHARD H. HEINDEL

CHURCHILL, ROOSEVELT, STALIN: THE WAR THEY WAGED AND THE PEACE THEY SOUGHT. By *Herbert Feis*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xi, 692. \$6.95.)

In the works that deal with American foreign relations in the period of the Second World War, no one has set a higher standard than Dr. Feis. His account of the China tangle, his work on Pearl Harbor, and his analysis of our relations

with Spain, all are indispensable to the student of the period. This book adds another to the trilogy—one that will be necessary reading for those who wish to study the diplomacy of the Roosevelt period. Since this work comes later than the others in time, it is perhaps less novel in its presentation. But Feis has used sources open to no one else, and the high quality of his judgments gives the work an especial value.

It is not possible here to deal with more than two or three of the matters treated on which new light is thrown. One of the most interesting is the doctrine of unconditional surrender. It is shown that this matter had been discussed by the Combined Chiefs long before Roosevelt's erroneously called "off-the-cuff" remarks at Casablanca and that the President resisted every attempt to reverse himself, though he was willing to make it clear that nothing in the pronouncement suggested the annihilation or even the inhumane treatment of the German or Japanese people. It is also suggested that the possible alternative to unconditional surrender, that is, the statement of specific terms, would have raised all kinds of difficulties, since, especially in the case of Germany, what would have been demanded would have been so much as probably to stiffen resistance rather than to weaken it, and since any agreement on terms would have involved painful negotiations between the Allies, with results that might have been upsetting in more than one quarter. Feis believes that the maintenance of the unconditional doctrine had very little effect on the conduct of the war, and this reviewer is inclined to agree with him. He might have strengthened his case by a little fuller treatment of the nearly successful attempt on Hitler's life in the summer of 1944.

A second matter of interest is the attitude of Churchill toward Overlord, the great landing in France. It would be incorrect to say that Churchill ever directly opposed this project. But he was cautious as to the timing and fascinated by counter-projects of one kind and another, especially the pushing of the operations in Italy. He never accepted willingly the American plan for a landing in southern France, and in June of 1944 he appealed directly to the President for support of operations from the Po Valley up through the Ljubljana Gap toward Vienna. At this time Stalin seems to have been ready to welcome such an idea. On this point, surely one on which it is dangerous to be dogmatic, Feis offers no judgment, but he does point out through the words of Roosevelt the logistic difficulties involved in such an operation.

If Churchill may well have been wrong on this point, he was, in the judgment of the reviewer, much more likely to be right in one of the crucial decisions of the end of the war. When the Western Armies overran the zonal boundaries set for the occupation of Germany, the British prime minister wished to delay their withdrawal until there had been an opportunity to test Russian good faith and to use their position as a card in the inevitable negotiations ahead. Both Truman and Eisenhower took the opposite view, and the results, as seen today, do not seem to have justified their judgment.

These are only examples of the questions discussed with careful scholarship in this interesting book. Feis has put us in his debt by this fine analysis of a highly important period in the foreign relations of the United States.

Cornell University

DEXTER PERKINS

POLITICAL COMMUNITY AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC AREA: INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE. By *Karl W. Deutsch, et al.* [Publications of the Center for Research on World Political Institutions, Princeton University.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 228. \$4.75.)

THIS work is not a volume of history but a study in political science. The authors examine the historical evolution of a certain number of federated or amalgamated communities of states and attempt to isolate the reasons for their success or failure. Then, studying the North Atlantic community, they seek to find out if it at present combines the conditions which have led other communities to success or, on the other hand, caused them to fail. The purpose is to observe whether a community of states can prevent war breaking out among themselves. For the historian, the method followed poses an extremely serious problem—one which is far from being resolved. Can one draw laws from historical observation? Many admit that, in some cases, when the question is of a considerable number of recurring facts, it is possible to formulate a kind of law, to trace a curve. This is the case, for example, of price movements, for which we have quantities of facts since the fifteenth century, and for demographic evolution, which we are able to follow more or less continuously in western countries since the middle of the seventeenth century. Yet conclusions drawn from price or birth, marriage, or death curves are accepted only with reserve and interpreted cautiously and even with reticence.

The number of cases here studied by Karl Deutsch and his collaborators, however, is excessively few, only ten: (1) the United States, (2) the union of England and Scotland, (3) the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to 1921, (4) the unification of Germany, (5) of Italy, (6) the constitution and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire, (7) the union of Norway and Sweden in 1814 and their separation in 1905, (8) the Swiss confederation, (9) the union of England with Wales since 1485, and finally (10) the formation of England itself in the Middle Ages. Can valid conclusions be drawn from so few cases? Is it possible, in particular, to put on the same level associations formed at different times and under different conditions, some by conquest, others by treaties or by inheritance, still others by voluntary action freely expressed by the inhabitants? Historians will be very skeptical about the value of conclusions drawn from such a study.

Having examined these ten cases, the authors of the work nevertheless establish the conditions of success. Of these, according to them, nine are essential: (1)

mutual compatibility of major values, (2) similarities in kinds of life, (3) hope of an improvement in the level of life, (4) hope of an increase in the political power of the states participating in the community, (5) hope for an increase in the economic strength of these states, (6) solid ties between the social classes in the interior of these states, (7) widening of the political elite, (8) freedom of movement of people among the different states, and (9) increase in the intercourse and commercial transactions among the different states.

Karl Deutsch and his collaborators then attack the problem of the "North Atlantic area," which they do not restrict to the members of NATO but extend to all the European countries west of the Elbe, to Iceland, and in America to the United States and Canada. For them these countries share in the same civilization, and they accept without discussion the conclusions that Robert Palmer and I formulated in the report we presented at the Congress of Historical Science at Rome in 1955. They inquire whether, in this North Atlantic area, those conditions of success they have set forth are brought together. They find that some are and that others are absent. As Robert Palmer and I have already pointed out, the authors of the work remark that the proportion of transatlantic trade in the total commerce of the North Atlantic countries has somewhat declined since the middle of the nineteenth century and that the same is true of postal communication, and finally that the movement of people among the different countries of the area is quite small and runs against numerous obstacles (passports and visas, etc.).

In their conclusion, Deutsch and his group declare that institutions have tightened the bonds among the various states of the zone, for example, NATO and the European community for iron and coal. But with reason they fear that many conceive of the North Atlantic community as a military alliance only. If this is true, it will inevitably disappear when the Communist danger diminishes. Then the North Atlantic community will be in danger of dissolution, and the danger of war among its members will reappear. One cannot but agree with this remark and conclude that in spite of a civilization in which they have much in common, the North Atlantic states are yet far from forming a "pluralistic community for security."

Université de Toulouse

JACQUES GODECHOT

Ancient and Medieval History

TRADE AND MARKET IN THE EARLY EMPIRES: ECONOMIES IN HISTORY AND THEORY. Edited by *Karl Polanyi, Conrad M. Arensberg, and Harry W. Pearson*. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press and Falcon's Wing Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 382. \$6.00.)

SOME years ago Professor Karl Polanyi in *The Great Transformation*—a brilliant socialist polemic and no mean work of scholarship—traced the major ills of

the modern world, notably war, fascism, and unemployment (communism was not then thought to be a major ill) to the rise of the free market in the nineteenth century. When this earlier work appeared in 1944, it struck a novel note in the socialist camp, for Polanyi was too good a historian to believe that historical development is "inevitable" and, hence, did not refrain from venturing moral judgments with a refreshing Victorian flavor. Unhappily, historians, like most people, have difficulty in leaving well enough alone. In this new work, Polanyi and a formidable body of associates undertake to document and defend at length the major assumptions of *The Great Transformation*. The result is a very curious book indeed. Its avowed objects are to show that the "self-regulating market" was unknown to certain earlier civilizations; that there is nothing "natural" about such a market; and, hence, that economic historians should rid themselves of the notion that, throughout most of history, most human beings have sought to buy cheap and sell dear. The book can fairly be described as a sales talk for a particular approach to history with demonstrations and an occasional exhortation to accept no substitutes. Among the subjects treated in the eighteen chapters are "marketless trading in Hammurabi's time," "Aristotle discovers the economy," "anthropology as history," "trade enclaves in Aztec and Mayan civilizations," and "Parsons and Smelser on the economy."

Will this book cause economic historians to change their ways? I doubt it. The authors' hardest blows are directed against straw men of their own making, and their relevant criticisms of economic history are not convincing. To economists, the "self-regulating market"—the villain of the piece—is one in which a rise in the price of wheat relative to the price of oats will induce people to raise more wheat and fewer oats—nothing more. The response to this price change may be fast or slow, accurate or inaccurate, good or bad. Since the stone age, no society has managed to stay alive without making some use of a self-regulating market to organize its activities, and no society has ever refrained from intervention designed to speed up, slow down, or suppress certain market-induced adjustments. By the terminology of this book, a market ceases to be self-regulating when the restraints imposed by custom and politics pass a certain point. The implication is that economic historians, by thinking too much in terms of market adjustments, underestimate the role of custom and politics in their discipline.

That economic historians tend to discount the importance of custom in determining prices (also wages, rents, choice of occupation, etc.) is true enough. But is this not because experience has taught them that, on close examination, customary prices turn out to be either of very recent origin or not the prices at which goods and services change hands? The fragmentary evidence on the influence of custom in economic life brought forward in this book affords no basis for concluding that the skepticism of economic historians is unreasonable. Likewise, the authors do not quote chapter and verse to show how economic historians have been led into error by a neglect of political considerations.

The truth would seem to be that this book, like *The Great Transformation*, is dedicated to the proposition that bourgeois economists who still take Adam Smith seriously have certainly a warped, and probably a false, view of human nature. No doubt bourgeois economists, as a class, are temperamentally suited to their dry calling and so have difficulty in understanding why their fellow men so readily respond to appeals to the heart. But does this matter? Appeals to the heart are relatively rare in the everyday business of life; most of the bread baked for sale throughout the ages has gone to the highest bidder. Admittedly economists have only a modest contribution to make to the writing of history; but in common with archivists, translators, ethnologists, and other such folk, they have certain skills that occasionally prove useful to historians.

As a contribution to methodology this book is too diffuse and jargon-laden to have much effect for good or ill. Yet it contains a number of good things for specialists, notably Polanyi's demonstration that some serious errors have been made in translating Aristotle's work on economics and Rosemary Arnold's chapters on aspects of the African slave trade. In conclusion, it is not out of place to suggest that the cause of "interdisciplinary" research in the social studies would be advanced by the use of better English.

Duke University

DONALD DEWEY

THE LAW AND LEGAL THEORY OF THE GREEKS: AN INTRODUCTION. By J. Walter Jones. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 327. \$6.75.)

SINCE the ancient Greeks developed no body of systematized legal knowledge and doctrine having a unity of its own distinct from political science, the study of ancient Greek law has on the whole been avoided even by legal specialists, who have devoted their time rather to Rome, whence modern legal science is derived. But the Greeks devised rules and institutions which served tolerably well many of the purposes for which the law of our own day exists. In the present book, the provost of Queen's College, Oxford, presents in a coherent whole a sketch of Greek legal ideas. This is a sound general study meeting a need which is supplied by no other book in any language. Of interest to the classical student and more particularly to the legal historian, the book could serve as a well-documented, comprehensive textbook on Greek law. It is a pity, however, to see references to Athenian inscriptions by the old *Corpus* number, when the *editio minor* has been available for so many years.

Jones organizes his material by topics corresponding to various aspects of ancient legal life. He begins with a study of the earliest legal terminology, including words equivalent to our justice, law, order, and nature. There are chapters on the sanctity of the law in the popular courts; such special topics as Greek associations, marriage, the family, slaves, contract, property, and the mental factor

in wrongdoing are reviewed. The book closes with a sketch of the influence of Greek law.

In the chapter on law in the courts, the author emphasizes the darker side of the democratic picture, large popular courts, sycophancy, forensic appeals, etc. This view might be leavened with the results of the so-called Bonner-school of Greek law of the University of Chicago, which has stressed the other side of the legal picture: the extreme simplicity of Athenian law as compared with later systems; the definite evidence of the legal qualifications of the dicasts, who must be regarded as judges, not jurors; the Athenian distrust of a legal expert, which was the principal obstacle to the development of a legal profession; the attitude of the ancient that litigation was something of a game, the law court an arena where he might tilt with friend and hated foe alike. In law as in politics, the Athenian democracy clearly wanted not representation but direct participation.

University of California, Berkeley

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

WESTRÖMISCHES VULGARRECHT: DAS OBLIGATIONENRECHT. By Ernst Levy. [Forschungen zum römischen Recht, 7. Abhandlung.] (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger. 1956. Pp. xx, 384. Cloth DM 29.50, paper DM 26.30.)

Das Obligationenrecht is the second and concluding volume of a detailed analytical study of the West Roman vulgar law; the first volume, on the law of property, was published in 1951 in the Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society (see review in *AHR*, LVII [April, 1952], 659-61). Professor Levy stresses his intention that these two volumes should be considered a single comprehensive work despite the fact that they are written in different languages and published in different countries. The reasons for this unusual circumstance and the decision to publish the second volume in Germany are both personal and practical and reflect the shifting fortunes of the author's life as a fugitive from Nazi Germany. On the one hand, Levy recalls his ties with his old associates and students, and on the other, there is the uncontrovertible fact that the study of the Roman law is incomparably more significant in Europe than in the United States. This reflection should convey to American scholars some comprehension of the disastrous neglect that has befallen this great area of our classical heritage in our law schools and historical seminars.

The law of obligations deals primarily with the different forms of contract and obligatory agreement and hence lies at the very heart and core of the Roman civil law. This second volume traces these contractual concepts from their classical foundations through the various mutations and transformations of the *Vulgärrecht* until the final reenactment in Justinian's *Corpus Juris*. The study begins with an analysis of the meaning and nature of contract and good faith. Then follows an examination of stipulations and conditions and of promissory agreement as the

basis of obligation. The second chapter discusses legal security, including an extremely interesting analysis of *dolus* and *fraus* illustrated from the *Sentences* of Paulus and its *interpretatio* (II, 101–105) and of fraudulent and illusory delay from the *Theodosian Code* (II, 111–20). Chapter III considers the abrogation and transfer of obligations, and the long final chapter of Part I takes up individual obligations, including loans, custody, pledge and security, purchase and gift, and the special contractual features of *precarium*, *societas*, and *mandatum*.

Levy displays an impressive command of the literature of this subject, both the primary sources and the diffuse matter in monographs and articles. Scholars who are not specialists in this field will miss a formal bibliography, although detailed guidance may be found in the footnotes and the exhaustive index of sources together with a less complete topical index. This volume represents the conclusion of an intricate study for which students of late Roman and early medieval law will be permanently indebted.

Rice Institute

FLOYD SEYWARD LEAR

RÖMISCHES WELTREICH UND CHRISTENTUM. By *Frank Ezra Adcock*, *Andreas Alföldi*, *Franz Altheim*, et al. [Historia Mundi, Band IV.] (Bern, Switzerland: Francke Verlag. 1956. Pp. 611. DM 29.80.)

HANDBOOKS of world history grow and multiply. Hard upon the admirable Cambridge Histories pressed *L'Evolution de l'humanité* and other series; more recently appeared the *Histoire générale des civilisations*, well begun by Aymard and Auboyer; and now *Historia Mundi*, planned as an impressive series of ten volumes, has reached its fourth. The subject is the world empire of Rome and the rise of Christianity, themes that are well suited to the taste for universal history and the internationalism of our time—for even in ancient times the formation of the world empire called the universal history of Polybius into being—and that lend themselves to the subordination of diplomatic history to the interplay of cultural and social movements. Connecting closely with the history of Hellenism in the preceding volume (*Der Aufstieg Europas*), this volume covers the period of the formation, apogee, and disintegration of the world empire, so that the two form a useful history of the classical world. Discussions of the rise of Christianity, essential to the history of the Empire, and portions of some chapters, notably those on social and economic history and on Byzantium, anticipate the later volume on the early Middle Ages.

The range and variety of the material to be covered almost force the sacrifice of the unity and proportion that is given by a single author. In compensation, the selection of topics is well balanced and well adapted to the purpose of the series, and the authors are a distinguished international group, English, German, French, Swiss, Italian, Austrian, and Yugoslav. The formation of the empire, the fall of the Republic, and the imperial period are treated by Pöschl, Adcock, and Alföldi,

respectively. The last rightly receives most space for a fresh, able, and exciting survey of the leading movements of the time, to which Saria has prefixed a brief narrative of events and reigns for the convenience of general readers. Aymard's excellent discussion of Hellenistic culture in *Histoire des civilisations*, Volume I, has been adapted by F. Gschnitzer. Heichelheim's informative chapter on social and economic history is, for all its length, at times too summary and goes far into the Byzantine period, which is also assumed in the chapters on the historical significance of Byzantium by Moss and early Byzantine state and society by Ostrogorsky. While the northern invaders are treated as part of the history of the Empire, the separate Persian and Sassanid power rightly receives a separate treatment at Altheim's hands. Cultural developments receive their due, Latin literature in a brief but incisive chapter by Ronconi, the art of the Empire in a survey by Saria, Greek thought in one by Theiler, and Roman Law in one by Arangio-Ruiz. Besides references in other chapters, three chapters are devoted particularly to Christianity, two somewhat controversial ones by Stauffer on Jesus and the Early Church and one by Schneider on the Christians in the Empire. A brief bibliography, an index, and a useful chronological table complete a well-proportioned volume which is eminently suitable for students and for general readers in German.

The work has the faults of its virtues. Not all points can be well coordinated, and the need for brevity has led to dogmatic statements or interpretations that require further evidence or argument in defense. For example, how far did an idea of "spheres of influence" exist to condition the thinking behind the Ebro treaty? Is it so probable that Rome destroyed Carthage to prevent the union of northwest Africa under a native power? It is doubtful if the influence of Marius fell so catastrophically after 100 B.C.; his partisans were powerful still, and he himself was elected augur in 97. Many will quarrel with the degree of reliance Stauffer has placed on the Fourth Gospel in reconstructing the chronology and the career of Jesus and will like to have more evidence of the connections between the fall of Sejanus and the attitude of Pilate. Cross references should have brought out the considerable discrepancy between Stauffer and Schneider on the development of the "monarchical" episcopate. Where is the evidence that denunciation of the Christians for arson by Josephus was a factor in Nero's persecution? Alföldi's rehabilitation of the achievements of Gallienus, in the reviewer's opinion, is thoroughly justified, but does the evidence in Eusebius mean that he recognized the Christian Church as a juristic person? Were Hadrian's policy of defense, the Augustan "half measures" in the East, and the failure to push the frontier to the Carpathians a cause of weakness to the Empire or the result of a judgment of what the resources of the Empire would stand? Heichelheim's chapter is especially valuable for its use of the evidence of the coinage. In fact, it contains one of the best attempts to evaluate the economic meaning of the redating of the early Rome coinage, but it may be doubtful, when we know so few prices, to make a general

rise in prices after 140 a factor in the Gracchan agitation. The chronology of the growth of imperial estates might receive more attention, and the discussions of the late empire might have made more of Boak's study of manpower in the western part. But the complexity of the problem of the fall is fully recognized, and Heichelheim's view that, far from a great division existing between city and country, conditions of city dwellers and dwellers on the land in the third century tended to be assimilated deserves thoughtful consideration.

To sum up, though points of detail or interpretation may be questioned, this is a good general history, based on excellent scholarship.

Bryn Mawr College

T. ROBERT S. BROUGHTON

CHURCH AND CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Volume I, 350-814. By *Gustav Schnürer*. Translated by *George J. Undreiner*. (Paterson, N. J.: St. Anthony Guild Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 574. \$7.50.)

THIS volume is the first of three which will make available to English readers the *Kirche und Kultur im Mittelalter* of the late Gustav Schnürer (died 1941). The translation, by one of the author's pupils, is of the third (and last) German edition of 1936 and contains unspecified corrections and revisions of the text sanctioned by the author. Each volume is to form a unit in itself. The whole work, as explained by the author in his foreword, follows in the footsteps of Frédéric Ozanam (died 1853) and Godfrey Kurth (died 1916).

The Middle Ages are here considered as the origin of our Western civilization, an era so dominated by the Catholic Church that it may well be called, as the author suggests, the "ECCLESIASTICAL PERIOD" (translator's capitals) of Western civilization. The problem changes, however, as the Middle Ages develop. "The civilization founded and fostered in the West by the Church became dangerous for the very servants of the Church." The author is concerned, therefore, not only with the fostering of civilization by the Church but with the inevitable secularization of the Church itself.

The reviewer has found this volume interesting and at times illuminating. It is obviously the work of a man who has taught the subject over many years and has thought about it a great deal both in his study and in his classroom. He is familiar with the continental literature of his subject, even in its widest aspects. He is well read in the relevant sources, some of them relatively obscure. His narrative has much of the power and the sweep noted on the dust cover. There are shrewd comments upon many topics. The author has found some new things to say about the Arians, the Franks, St. Ambrose, and St. Benedict. Much familiar material is engagingly presented. The pages on St. Augustine are excellent, despite too many and too extensive quotations from the *Civitas Dei*. The concluding chapter on Charlemagne is first rate though the Carolingian Renaissance has been much oversimplified.

Schnürer's wish, expressed in his foreword, "to preserve himself from a partisan and unhistorical idealism" has not been entirely fulfilled: "Lacking Christianity, they [the Arabs] lacked the determinant civilizing force"; "Christian teachings appeared to him—and rightly so!—far superior"; "The empire *had* [translator's italics] to pass away in order to make room for a free development of Christian culture"; "A Western civilization would then never have been formed." Many similar passages might be quoted. The past potential subjunctive is used much too frequently. There are many misleading uses of the word nationalism, some of them the work of the translator. The value of the bibliography, rearranged alphabetically by the translator, is uncertain: of the approximately 130 added titles, only 36 were published after 1936.

The author, reasonably judicious at times, never leaves any doubt as to where he stands on the many highly controversial topics inevitably involved in a book covering this subject. The work as a whole is ambitious, comprehensive, informing, and, in its translated form, authorized (it has the *Imprimatur* of the Church); it possesses most of the advantages and disadvantages thereby suggested.

Smith College

SIDNEY R. PACKARD

GESCHICHTE DER KREUZZÜGE. Bands I and II. By *Adolf Waas*. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1956. Pp. 396; vi, 391.)

In these two volumes, the author seeks to provide the German reading public, as Grousset did the French and Runciman the English readers, with a unified and comprehensive history of the Crusades. It is comprehensive in the sense that he touches upon nearly every aspect of the story, tracing the narrative to the end of the fifteenth and the idea of the Crusade on into the sixteenth century. The work is buttressed by an impressive bibliography, some fifty pages, as well as by extensive footnote references, which underline nearly every page. An unusually large number of contributions by American scholars is included in the list.

The author refers to Erdmann's *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedanken* with great respect but chooses to depart from him by advancing his own theory of the origin of the idea of a Crusade. The "true idea" of the Crusade as he conceives it is more restricted even than that of Grousset. He claims to have found a cult of dedicated knighthood, *Ritterfrömmigkeit*, existing before the First Crusade, whose beginnings he traces back as far as Charlemagne's time, if not even to earlier, pre-Christian times. This cult included the idea of feudal vassalage to God, the spirit of self-sacrifice, the willingness to distant adventure, the motive of revenge, and the aim to recover the Lord's sacred places, particularly the Holy Sepulchre and the Holy Grail. It also included belief in God's leadership and the active participation of his angels led by St. Michel, St. George, St. Demetrius, and other saints. Waas seems to conclude that it was this cult rather than Pope Urban's speech that accounted for the First Crusade.

This theory of lay origin for the Crusade seems unconvincing to the present reviewer. Granted that there were lay elements in the crusading idea, the driving force and direction were certainly supplied by ecclesiastical forces. It would be difficult to establish the existence of a well-organized and wide-spread cult of knighthood before the First Crusade. Significant, too, is the fact that Waas finds nearly all of his confirmatory evidence in literature written after the First Crusade. This includes the written version of the *Chanson du Roland* which recent scholarship has established was composed after the Crusade and affected by it. The development of the dedicated knightly cult as exemplified by the formation of the military orders was rather a result than a cause of the Crusade.

The author justifies his undertaking of a comprehensive history despite the appearance of the internationally collaborative work edited by K. M. Setton on the grounds that the latter, written by specialists, must necessarily present a very splintered account. He feels that only an individual can provide a unified story; Runciman expressed a similar opinion. Examination of the text of these three individual undertakings, by Waas, Runciman, and Grousset, reveals extensive scholarly deficiencies, especially in the present work. None of the three was a specialist in this field. Grousset, a specialist in Asiatic history, and Runciman, in Byzantine history, made some contribution from their own special fields. Waas is apparently interested primarily in the mystical aspects of the Crusade, and it is only there that he reflects the fruits of recent scholarship. The narrative is so condensed as to preclude the contributions that recent scholarship has made; some of his statements reflect a scholarly lag of fifty years or more. This judgment must be applied to all three writers; despite the impressive scholarly apparatus the three works must be appraised primarily for their literary rather than scholarly qualities. The present work is further marred by extremely careless proofreading; errors in dates and spelling of names are too numerous to be listed here.

University of Texas

A. C. KREY

FEUDAL BRITAIN: THE COMPLETION OF THE MEDIEVAL KINGDOMS, 1066-1314. By G. W. S. Barrow. (London: Edward Arnold, Publishers, Ltd.; distrib. by St. Martin's Press, New York. 1956. Pp. 452. \$4.75.)

Mr. Barrow has produced a book which will be very welcome to the student of British history who wants a briefer survey of this important period than the one provided by the *Oxford History of England*, which devotes two large volumes and part of a third to the years between 1066 and 1307. Moreover, Barrow covers the whole island of Britain by giving adequate space to the history of Wales and Scotland. It is straight political history; intellectual history is entirely neglected, and social and economic conditions are only mentioned where they have direct influence on politics. While ecclesiastical institutions receive their fair share of attention, it is largely their political aspects which are discussed. Barrow's style is

clear, precise, and readable, but it cannot be called exciting. He scrupulously avoids anything that might be called colorful or amusing. It is a book for the student who wants to know rather than a book to entice the general reader. At the same time, it is well suited for an interested reader with little previous background.

Within the limits he set himself, Barrow has done a masterly piece of work. His organization is clear and effective. He has used good judgment in selecting what is significant. He has an excellent capacity for careful generalization and a willingness to make up his mind about controversial questions. He has also made full use of the latest monographs and articles so that his book represents the most recent results of research. Here this reviewer would have liked a few more footnotes; Barrow occasionally makes a statement which seems new and perhaps doubtful without any hint as to its source. One example must suffice. On pages 84-85 Barrow states that a knight had to serve the king at his own expense for forty days a year and longer if the king paid the costs. A footnote says the forty days became two months in time of war. As the late Professor Mitchell and I spent many years hopefully searching for clear proof of the term of service in Angevin England, I naturally would like to know the source of Barrow's detailed information. One is also a little perplexed as to how one performed knight service in time of peace.

Perhaps the most valuable part of this book for the general reader is the section devoted to Scotland. A number of surveys of English medieval history cover Wales fairly adequately, but the internal history of Scotland has been regularly neglected in such works. Barrow gives a fascinating brief account of the development of the Scots monarchy and the various complicated influences at work in that northern realm.

Any work of this sort is bound to contain some errors in detail, but Barrow has made very few, and they are of no significance except to a specialist. In short, Mr. Barrow has done well what he set out to do and has made a valuable contribution to historical literature.

Johns Hopkins University

SIDNEY PAINTER

STUDIES IN THE AGRARIAN HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY. By *E. A. Kosminsky*. Edited by *R. H. Hilton*. Translated from the Russian by *Ruth Kisch*. [Studies in Mediaeval History, Volume VIII.] (New York: Kelley and Millman, Inc.; Oxford, Eng.: Basil Blackwell, 1956. Pp. xxvii, 370. \$7.00.)

THIS is one of the half dozen most important volumes in English on medieval agrarian conditions, even for those who have little confidence in the author's benighted Marxism. The best quality of these studies is the emphasis throughout on complexity, diversity, and even confusion, whether manorial structure or manorial exploitation and administration are under discussion. The essential contri-

bution of the book is a far more exact description of manorial conditions than has hitherto been available, and if much of the material strikes the reader as familiar it is because Kosminsky's general conclusions were first stated over twenty-five years ago and have won general if modified acceptance. In the present volume they are worked out more precisely, and the evidence is subjected to minute and detailed scrutiny. What may loosely be called the author's "statistical method" of analysis makes for rather dull stretches in the text. Virgate counting and percentage reckoning may be tedious, but it is the only way to extract more information from the Hundred Rolls, inquisitions post mortem, extents and surveys, and ministers' accounts. These intractable and incomplete sources are patiently analyzed and made to yield a convincing picture in which the small manor, the free peasant tenement, and money rent (as opposed to the "classical" great manor with its unfree peasants and labor dues) are given their properly conspicuous place.

There are dozens of points at which the general interpretation or certain specific arguments are vulnerable, but a brief review does not allow space to consider them. The first chapter, containing a useful review of the sources and some critical comments on method, also carries forward some of the Marxist war of words launched in the preface. On the lighter side, we are told that the Barons' War was a class struggle, that it was a "struggle within the feudal class," and that the political compromise ending the struggle involved a delimitation of the rights of king and lords "so as to ensure the regular, perhaps even the increased, flow of rent." These are provocative views, but as presented here—as alleged "background" for the survey of 1279—they do not help very much in explaining why the government launched such a detailed investigation of manorial conditions. The purpose and use of the 1279 surveys remain a mystery; perhaps the connection with the Barons' War is even closer than Kosminsky's ideological framework permits him to see.

The work of Vinogradoff is employed repeatedly as the point of departure for a more rigorous interpretation of evidence, or else simply as an example of older views no longer tenable. All this is sound enough; but several of Vinogradoff's assumptions or preconceptions continue to fill in the gaps of Kosminsky's evidence. Even the hypothetical village assembly and pre-Norman peasant freedom intrude into an otherwise valuable discussion. It should also be noted that the phrase "feudal rent" and the term "feudal" are usually employed here where "manorial rent" and "manorial" are preferable because more exact. "Feudal rent" here means payments and services from manors going to feudal lords who hold manors. There was indeed a feudal rent, but with this Kosminsky is not concerned. Hence the term "feudal" is vague and often connotes "medieval" or simply "bad" (in the moral sense of economic exploitation of peasants by lords). This terminological difficulty leads to some weird statements—feudalism came to England with the Norman Conquest, as everyone knows, but the manor "based on serfdom and labor dues," which existed before the Conquest, is "the most finished form of

feudal exploitation." In this terminological jungle we even have such rare growths as "rural bourgeoisie."

Finally, there are weaknesses in the general argument arising from the author's failure to incorporate later work than his own—notably Lennard's basic survey of the Domesday peasantry. The section on peasants' appeals to ancient demesne status is drastically oversimplified. If the author wishes to indict the whole thirteenth-century bench, then it is incumbent upon him to learn thirteenth-century law.

University of Minnesota

ROBERT S. HOYT

THE ESTATES OF THE HIGHER NOBILITY IN FOURTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND. By *G. A. Holmes*. [Cambridge Studies in Economic History.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 180. \$4.00.)

THIS case study of six noble families—Mortimer, Bohun, Montague, Vere, Courtenay, and De Burgh—discloses the legal and material foundations of their political power. Mr. Holmes has constructed his history of the waxing and/or waning of each family's inheritance from its fiscal and tenurial records. He tells how some nobles created and augmented their landed estates, how they increased their incomes, how they improved their posture in the social hierarchy, and also how other families dilapidated their inheritances. Sometimes the mere working of the law, through wardship, relief, and forfeiture, eroded an estate as death duties do today. New legal devices, notably trusts, joint enfeoffments, and licenses for alienation, however, enabled some of the Crown's "tenants to by-pass the operation of feudal law" and to preserve their estates. Other families failed to cope with the "new economy," things like sheep, herring, rents, inflation, and the Black Death; but a few, like the smart men of every age, even turned these novelties to their advantage. For those "inheritances which survived," Holmes observes, tended "to grow larger," and throughout the fourteenth century "there was a natural pattern of families growing in wealth, dying out, and losing their titles and estates to newcomers," often the creatures of the court. This proves, then, that the family—and not an abstract "class" called gentry or nobility as the Tawney-Roper controversialists fallaciously assume—was the unit of English society that rose or fell.

The political expression of the noble's inheritance was his retinue of knights and esquires retained through indentures by fees and robes to provide civil and military services. Holmes's discussion, with two appendixes of supporting documents, does much to "penetrate into the real world of relationships which lies behind the lists of liveries and annuities." For the turbulence often attributed to livery and retaining, he correctly blames "the weakness of kings," Edward II and Richard II, and not the system of retaining or "any social decadence" as superficial historians have done. Instead, he proves how "widespread" the keeping of indentured retainers was by Edward II's reign and how a "normal network of relation-

ships," by 1338, was replacing "fossilized feudalism" with a "basic social form" centering about "the great estate." But was it not the politically active peer, especially the new one on the make, rather than the estate itself, that created the lord-retainer "connection"? The resulting system has been called since 1885 "Bastard Feudalism," a term which Holmes, to his credit and my delight, declares "a misnomer which has no justification except a vague prejudice against the later Middle Ages." Would that he had boldly defied his academic seniors and called this refined feudalism by another name instead of perpetuating so base and false a phrase in a book that will be cited for both fact and interpretation for years to come.

Yale University

WILLIAM H. DUNHAM, JR.

HISTOIRE DES INSTITUTIONS FRANÇAISES AU MOYEN AGE. Publiée sous la direction de *Ferdinand Lot* et *Robert Fawtier*. Tome I, INSTITUTIONS SEIGNEURIALES (LES DROITS DU ROI EXERCÉS PAR LES GRANDS VASSAUX). By *Michel de Bouard, et al.* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. xii, 438. 1,800 fr.)

THIS is the first of a projected series of four volumes on French medieval institutions. The second will deal with the institutions of the French monarchy, the third with the French church, and the last with urban and parochial institutions. The whole work was planned by Ferdinand Lot in his remarkably fecund old age; at his death in 1952 he left the responsibility of completing the task to Robert Fawtier. Fawtier, in his preface, explains the difficulties which have held up publication until now—war, illness, change of plans—all the familiar troubles that plague any cooperative venture. But he also assures us that the remaining volumes should appear quickly and that we shall at last have a history of French institutions written by historians who are interested in describing the working of institutions in their social setting rather than by professors of legal history who are interested primarily in the development of juristic concepts.

The first volume, on the institutions of the great feudal states, does not quite fulfill this promise. It was written by fourteen different scholars, and it is always difficult to persuade so many writers to follow a uniform pattern. None of the essays are based entirely on the primary sources; they summarize articles and monographs which have already been published, with a few supplementary references to the archives. This procedure gives results of unequal value. Where there has been recent research, and above all, when the research has been conducted by the same scholar who wrote the essay, the discussion is stimulating and enlightening. In this class are the studies of the duchy of Normandy by Michel de Bouard, of the Plantagenet empire by Jaques Boussard, and of Burgundian institutions by Jean Richard. Ganshof's chapter on Flanders just misses being in this category; it is based on a profound knowledge of the sources but is organized ac-

according to the old categories of the legal historian. As a result, it is divided and subdivided into so many topics that it is difficult to form a concept of Flemish institutions as a whole. The study of Béarn, by Tucoo-Chala, is interesting in showing strong influences from the Iberian peninsula and a remarkable series of checks on the power of the ruler. Most of the other chapters are useful summaries, often with helpful bibliographical references.

The first general impression one receives from this volume is how much work remains to be done on medieval French institutions. In case after case the authors lament the lack of special studies; for example, in a county as thoroughly investigated as Flanders, Ganshof finds very little on the feudal relationship between the count and his vassals. In other lordships little is known about the revenues and financial techniques of early rulers or about the origin of taxation.

In the second place, the reader will be impressed by the tremendous differences in the rate of institutional growth among feudal states. Feudalism began everywhere as an improvisation; the lord and a handful of followers took over responsibility and ruled directly and personally without worrying greatly about institutional forms. But in some regions this informal and personal rule continued clear through the thirteenth century, while in others the institutionalizing of justice, administration, and finance began as early as the eleventh century. States of the latter sort—preeminently Normandy and Flanders—were the creative element in feudalism, and their institutions were copied throughout France. This creativity, in turn, seems to have depended on the degree of control which the count or duke had over his state and on the comprehensiveness of the feudal bond. Rulers who had little authority outside their own estates and who had to deal with numerous allodial lordships did not need and could not have given authority to institutions of the Norman type. Only in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, when the tendency to concentrate power at the center had gone so far that no lordship could preserve its autonomy without well-developed institutions, did these tardy sinners see the light and accept the true doctrine of *baillis*, high courts, receivers, and *Chambres des Comptes*.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

Modern European History

UN GRAND HOMME D'AFFAIRES AU DÉBUT DU XVI^e SIÈCLE—JACOB FUGGER. By *Léon Schick*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section, Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et Gens d'Affaires, XI.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1957. Pp. xi, 323. 1,700 fr.)

THE author of this volume is not a professional historian but a banker whose interest in history has caused him to undertake a thorough investigation of the career and achievements of Jacob Fugger, the most successful financier in Europe

during the early sixteenth century. Because of the genuine affinity of interest between M. Schick and his subject, this study presents a lucid and sympathetic treatment of the many financial ventures through which the first citizen of Augsburg not only built a personal fortune but exercised vast power in international politics and finance. The structure of the book is necessarily biographical, but its major emphasis is upon the successive maneuvers through which Fugger built his amazing personal enterprise. These are traced in very considerable detail and are analyzed both in chronological and schematic form. Especial attention is given to the long series of contracts through which Fugger built his quasi-monopolistic operations in mining, particularly in the Tyrol and Hungary. These invaluable concessions resulted chiefly from timely loans to impecunious princes who increasingly relied upon Fugger's excellent credit facilities, while Fugger, for his part, did not hesitate to seek his ends by corruption of officials, sharp bargaining, and legal subterfuge. Schick carefully indicates the nature of all major components of the Fugger financial empire in central Europe and gives information concerning certain related matters, such as the role of Fugger in papal finances, the election of Charles V, and the perennial struggle against monopolies. In the final chapters, he analyzes the juridical, administrative, and financial structure of the Fugger organization and the mechanisms utilized for the production and sale of copper.

It should be stressed that this volume is not a work of original research but essentially a compilation of materials from a large body of secondary sources, chiefly German monographs, with added information from the manuscript archives of the Fugger family and the cities of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Innsbruck. Thus the volume represents a convenient synthesis of much known information, with the addition of certain new materials, chiefly statistical, from original sources. It contains many charts and graphs, and there are extensive footnotes, many illustrations, and a large bibliography. The author's purpose is to incorporate into a single, readable volume all essential information concerning Jacob Fugger's spectacular financial achievements. In this he has succeeded well, in the sense that the work will be of value to the general reader and the informed student of the period, although necessarily of less significance for the specialist. The book's limitations are chiefly the result of the author's viewpoint. Jacob Fugger's financial achievements and the elements of his vast enterprise are well analyzed, but there is little concerning their broader significance, such as the impact of nascent capitalism upon the social and economic structure of Europe and its place in Renaissance civilization. Within its intended scope, however, the volume is authoritative, readable, and a valuable study in the economic realities of the period.

Brown University

WILLIAM F. CHURCH

DÖLLINGER UND FRANKREICH: EINE GEISTIGE ALLIANZ, 1823-1871.

By *Stefan Lösch*. [Schriftenreihe zur Bayerischen Landesgeschichte, Band 51.] (Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1955. Pp. xi, 568.)

"THE historian Döllinger remains an object of equal interest to those who deem that one half of his life was devoted to superstition or the other to sacrilege," Lord Acton wrote half a century ago (Cambridge University Library, Add. MS. 4908). This book by Stefan Lösch, professor emeritus of Tübingen, is further evidence of this persistent interest.

Professor Lösch intended that his book should be no more than a preliminary study of the sources from which a scientific biography might be written. This fact accounts for the lack of cohesion between the various parts of the study. The new documentary material consists of fifty-six letters, nearly all of which are from the Montalembert archives or the Döllinger archives and are published here for the first time. These letters are accompanied by eight essays which have as a general theme the spiritual alliance that existed between Döllinger and the French Church of the Restoration. Here Lösch is at his best, and a book which narrowly misses being a biography of a single man becomes the intellectual history of an era. A third section of the book consists of a bibliography of all of Döllinger's printed work. Since Döllinger frequently wrote for newspapers and nearly always anonymously, this complete bibliography is extremely important. A second bibliography consisting of Döllinger's works in translation establishes clearly the scope of his reputation and the pervasiveness of his influence. Finally, an essay dealing with portraits of Döllinger constitutes an interesting approach to this intriguing personality.

The author makes his greatest contribution to an understanding of Döllinger in his discussion of the historian's intellectual formation. Döllinger was carried out of the Catholic Church by his insistence on the application of the discipline of history to the problems of theology. Lösch establishes clearly that the idea of the historical development of Christian theology came to Döllinger from Lamennais and that Lamennais' ideas played an essential role in the formation of many of the historian's attitudes and later ideas.

Exhaustive as this book is in detailing many of the episodes in Döllinger's life it has not made adequate use of the available materials in the English language. Lord Acton stood nearest to Döllinger and knew his mind better than any other man yet there is no evidence that the author made use of the thousands of Acton notes on the subject of Döllinger and his French connections available in the Cambridge University library. With the publication of this book, Döllinger studies can advance only through a study and analysis of the Acton notes and through the long-promised publication of the Acton-Döllinger correspondence by Douglas Woodruff.

University of Michigan

STEPHEN J. TONSOR

ENGLAND UND DER NEUE KURS, 1890-1895: AUF GRUND UN-
VERÖFFENTLICHTER AKTEN. By *Theodor A. Bayer*. [Tübinger
Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 3.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr
[Paul Siebeck]. 1955. Pp. 128. DM 8.60.)

DIE DEUTSCH-SCHWEIZERISCHE PRESSE ZU EINIGEN PROBLEMEN
DES ZWEITEN WELTKRIEGES. By *Ernst-Otto Maetzke*. [Tübinger
Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, Number 2.] (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr
[Paul Siebeck]. 1955. Pp. 109. DM 7.80.)

THESE two monographs (the second and third in the Tübingen series on history and politics) are thoughtful and objective studies, reflecting credit on the editors, H. Rothfels, T. Eschenburg, and W. Markert. Both Bayer and Maetzke acknowledge in particular the inspiration and assistance of Professor Rothfels.

Bayer's study of Anglo-German relations from 1890 to 1895 probes the origins of the deep-seated suspicions and misunderstandings that developed in London and Berlin during these fateful first years of Germany's New Course. It is Bayer's contention that the Kaiser, the Chancellor, and the *Auswärtiges Amt* seriously miscalculated the effect in London of the decision to drop the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia. Far from acting as an inducement for England to ally herself with Germany, the New Course in Berlin actually rendered it less necessary and less attractive for England to commit herself on the Continent. Indeed, Berlin's change of course delivered into English hands the "key" (as Bayer puts it) to the European balance of power. The directors of policy in Berlin, failing to understand the subtleties of the new situation, saw only with suspicion and anxiety the rejection of their proffered friendship. In reaction, they decided to put pressure on England in colonial questions, which they regarded as essentially "nonpolitical." In so doing they completely failed to grasp the fact that for the British Empire colonial matters were by no means of secondary importance nor could they be arbitrarily separated from problems of "die Grosse Politik" as understood in Berlin.

The appendix to the study gives the text of thirteen previously unpublished British documents from the many that Bayer used in the Public Record Office.

The Maetzke monograph analyzes the reaction of the German-language Swiss press to the following major subjects: the plans of the Third Reich for a New Order in Europe, the postwar plans of the United Nations, the Allies' demand for unconditional surrender, and the question of the extent of German opposition to Hitler. As might be expected, the leading German-Swiss papers reflected, by and large, moderation and good sense. If they had little use for Hitler's New Order, they also regarded the Morgenthau Plan as "madness." In general they regretted the negative philosophy of unconditional surrender, fearing that it would lead to anarchy and revolution in Europe with disastrous repercussions on Switzerland. Allied departures from the principles of the Atlantic Charter did not pass unnoticed.

Maetzke feels that the German-language Swiss press, taken by and large, kept its head remarkably well during the war and arrived at generally sound and far-sighted conclusions, except in the matter of the German opposition to Hitler. On this question he contends that the German-Swiss press (for various reasons which he analyzes at some length) was influenced by emotions which prevented it from reaching a proper evaluation of the extent and nature of the opposition to Hitler that culminated in the courageous attempt of July 20, 1944.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM M. FRANKLIN

THE GROWTH OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FROM JAMES THE FIRST TO VICTORIA. By *A. H. Dodd*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1956. Pp. xv, 215. 23s.)

TEACHERS and students of English history will be grateful to Professor Dodd for this compact and useful work. His study of the development of the English system of parliamentary government does not pretend to be an original contribution to the subject; developed from lectures to his advanced students at Bangor in Wales, it is a series of essays on the growth of responsible government during ten successive periods, essays based on the recognized modern authorities. "It is primarily a study of politics in action," we are told in the preface, "with more stress on quirks of character and twists of fortune" than on abstract principles or legal theories. Unlike many treatments of British constitutional development it is informal in tone and lively in style.

Dodd begins by citing the definition of responsible government set forth in Lord Durham's celebrated *Report*, namely, that if the crown "has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence." Durham believed that this principle had "long been considered an indisputable and essential part of our constitution." The chief theme of Dodd's book is that while the *aim* of responsible government may have been pursued for some two hundred years before Victoria's accession, the *means* for securing it—the devices characteristic of modern parliamentary government—were not achieved, many of them, until the turn of the nineteenth century, some of them not until later in Victoria's own reign.

This, of course, is not new, but it is explained with clarity and effectiveness. There are apt quotations from contemporary sources, the characterizations of leading personalities are shrewd, and there are numerous succinct—often epigrammatic—generalizations which will doubtless find their way into many lectures and examination papers. Occasionally a modern parallel is forced (as in the references to Senator McCarthy and McCarthyism), and there are occasional errors: the election of 1710, for example, is referred to as a "whig landslide," obviously a slip for "tory"; while the dozen Tory peers created at one stroke in

1712 become eleven, spoiling Wharton's quip: "Will you vote individually, or by your foreman?"

These are unimportant flaws. Dodd is to be congratulated on a book which conveniently embodies the conclusions of Namier, Michael, Aspinall, and other ground-breakers and which deals effectively with the old myths while making clear the distinctions stressed by the revisionists.

College of Wooster

ROBERT WALCOTT

PURITANISM IN THE PERIOD OF THE GREAT PERSECUTION, 1660-1688. By *Gerald R. Cragg*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 325. \$5.50.)

THE Restoration brought back not only the King but the Established Church. How the Anglicans and the Tories then strove to root out nonconformity, beginning with the Act of Conformity in 1662 and culminating with the savage Conventicle Act of 1670, has often been told. That the effort, in spite of appalling brutalities, noisome prisons, exorbitant fines, confiscations, and ghastly insults did not materially diminish the numbers of dissenters is also familiar, as is the almost comic outcome when in 1688 the bishops suddenly courted the dissenters as allies against James I.

Dr. Cragg's account approaches these years from a side opposite to that of the conventional narratives—from the side of the nonconformist mentality and its ingrained habits of life. He enumerates the manners of worship, the codes of family and congregational discipline, and the ethics of mutual help, which provided the social cohesion. He arrays the theological concepts which constructed a rationale for accepting affliction as divine dispensation and proved indestructible. He shows the stages by which the persecuting passion expended itself, so that at last the concept of toleration became a way to escape an insoluble problem.

Because he is presenting the consciousness (and the mute unconsciousness) of a whole segment of the society, Cragg uses the word "Puritan" as a description of the central mentality, whether Presbyterian, Independent, Baptist, or Quaker. He thus demonstrates, as no previous study has done, the fundamental unity behind such apparently diverse figures as, let us say, Baxter, Howe, Owen, Fox, and Bunyan.

Though in a sense Cragg's story is one of triumph, in that Puritanism endured and won toleration, from his point of view it ends with an ironically tragic twist. As the dissenters acquired a place in the nation's life and began to settle into it, the religious ardors, which were their reason for being, waned. "The twilight of Puritanism did not give way to darkness, but it was clearly the prelude to a more prosaic day."

The presentation, depending not on chronological sequence, is bound to wax prolix at times, as episode after episode in the dreary tale must be recounted,

until even horrors become monotonous. Cragg keeps an even, restrained tone, which sometimes seems so objective as to appear frigid; yet the reader senses a profound though never histrionic comprehension of the spiritual ordeal his Puritans suffered. If he endows them, inheritors of the New Model Army, with the virtues rather of the patient ox than of the lion, possibly this is because he is looking ahead to the pianissimo finale rather than back toward the heroic overture.

Harvard University

PERRY MILLER

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TREASURY, 1660-1702. By *Stephen B. Baxter*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 301. \$6.00.)

BAXTER is dealing here with a complex, partly neglected, but in some respects controversial subject. He is on comparatively safe ground when analyzing the administrative machinery in the development of the Treasury. There is no white line, however, separating the administrative from the constitutional and political aspects of history. The author, therefore, inevitably enters these latter and more dangerous fields in his earlier chapters where he treats of the relations of the Treasury with the king, other departments or high officers of state, and the councils of the realm. In these connections, in spite of cautious and qualifying statements, he seems to overrate the authority of the Treasury.

Baxter deliberately avoids a particular discussion of the relationship between the Treasury and Parliament on the ground, no doubt, that this topic lies outside the scope of his subject. He takes the point of view that as far as the Treasury was concerned, in this period, administrative development was more significant than the constitutional. Yet one might ask whether the growing concern of the House of Commons with finance did not materially affect the development of the Treasury's administrative functions and even their techniques.

Sections on the dependent revenue boards are slight, and those on the Exchequer contain little that is new. The major portion of the book is devoted to the personnel of the treasury office, secretaries, clerks, other subordinate officials, and servants, with a great deal of biographical detail. Here apparently is the basis for the author's claim that in this period the Treasury reached "maturity." Although one may hesitate to accept the declaration at its face value, one can scarcely deny the importance of two developments stressed by Baxter: the establishment of a permanent staff and the improvement in the methods of keeping records.

The reader may experience some difficulty in obtaining a clear concept of treasury functions, partly because these are scattered through the various chapters. The extent to which the Treasury could make policies, even those that were primarily administrative, is rather obscure. The author certainly exaggerates the importance of handling secret service funds. Considerable extraneous material,

normally subordinated in footnotes, is included in the text and diverts attention from the main argument. The author tends to confuse the reader by his habit of following a general statement with multiple exceptions, qualifications, and a final summary that varies greatly from the introductory assertion. The resulting lack of clarity is regrettable, for the book contains an interesting thesis and considerable information not easily available elsewhere.

The late W. A. Shaw's excellent calendars of treasury books, supplemented by calendars of other official papers, with occasional references to original sources in the Public Record Office and British Museum, furnish the main basis for the administrative aspects of this study. The author's use of secondary sources appears to have been limited. Further exploration into what others have written about this subject and the period might have given the author better perspective, the need for which appears at several points. In spite of the defects noted, this work is clearly characterized by honest scholarship and, therefore, demands respect.

Wilson College

DORA MAE CLARK

FOUR WORTHIES: JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, ANNE CLIFFORD, JOHN TAYLOR, OLIVER HEYWOOD. By *Wallace Notestein*. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. 248. \$4.00.)

THE writing of history these days has become a relentlessly purposeful business. Recent generations of historians are solemnly intent on the quest for underlying trends, basic patterns, significant correlations, and deeper meanings. For analytical historians the individuality of men and women signifies little in comparison with the destinies and imputed purposes of the groups and classes to which they are supposed to belong, and particular events have their particularity squeezed out of them by the pressure of the underlying trend. In such circumstances the human universe of the historian tends to become as abstract and dehumanized as the natural universe of the physicist is abstract and denatured. No doubt this is all—or at least partly—to the good. Still it does us no harm occasionally to be reminded that the house of history has many mansions and that those mansions do not always and all have to be furnished in the austere, formidable, and severely functional style that is currently the fashion.

After chasing so many historians down the main road in a wearisome, grim-visaged pursuit of ultimate truth, a pursuit that pauses not to look to the right or to the left, it is pleasant sometimes to take a quiet ruminative stroll down a few byways with a guide who really knows the countryside. For the byways of the England that stretches from the Armada to the Glorious Revolution Wallace Notestein is just such an experienced, amiable guide; and it is on just such a quiet stroll that he takes the reader in *Four Worthies*. The worthies—John Chamberlain, Lady Anne Clifford, John Taylor, and Oliver Heywood—are not big names in the history of the great causes of their time. The trouble with most of

the big names—John Eliot, John Hampden, John Pym, John Churchill, even Francis Bacon and Thomas Wentworth—is that they are just that: embodiments of great causes carrying the misleading label of a personal name. When we have done our best to grasp what the man behind the cause and the label was like as a person, we are still left with an abstraction—rather like what our picture of Samuel Pepys would be if we had only the navy records and no diaries to go by. In this respect Notestein's worthies differ from the great ones of their day; and in this respect alone are they like each other. Throughout their lives in various ways they engaged in a reasonably full although largely unintentional process of self-revelation. Chamberlain showed himself in the stream of lively letters he sent his friends, especially Dudley Carleton. To earn a living John Taylor wrote a number of eccentric travel books in prose and doggerel that told a bit about what England and a good deal about what John Taylor were like. Anne Clifford—successively the worthy wife and widow of the worthless Earl of Dorset and the worthless Earl of Pembroke—was an inveterate diarist. So was that tireless recorder of his own spiritual wrestlings, the Nonconformist minister, Thomas Heywood.

It is of the essence of the personal portrait of an individual that it does not lend itself to summary. The good of it is in the details; and so it is with Notestein's portraits of his worthies. In such a case all the reviewer can do is to thank Notestein for having arranged matters so he could pass several hours in the pleasant company of four interesting people and to recommend the same entertainment to others. Notestein's arranging is both adept and necessary; without it three of his four worthies—all except Chamberlain—could be bores to the casual guest. He has elicited from them the comments that tell most about them, about their friends, and about the world they lived in. What a deal of insight it gives us into the ordinary conditions of seventeenth-century town life when the Water Poet singles out Leicester for special praise because its streets were "so clean from dunghills, filth or soil that one could walk all over town in low shoes."

Notestein has a realist's eye. His paintings are in the *genre* style. Although he is fond of all his worthies with a catholic fondness that has room for the somewhat rowdy waterman John Taylor and the bluenose Puritan Oliver Heywood, he does not pretty them up. Even of John Chamberlain, the wittiest and most agreeable of the lot, he says: "John Chamberlain valued dignity in all things, and success." Occasionally and quite casually Notestein pauses to dispose of some myth—created and inflated by the higher historical didacticism—that obscures the view. Thus the sentimental semi-Tory, semi-Socialist theory of Stuart paternalism gets its quick come-uppance: "James I was never interested in the troubles of his lowlier subjects." Once in a while, perhaps, Notestein permits his affection for England to assume command of his judgment. Then he finds in the more ingratiating traits of his worthies something peculiarly English; a less loving eye might find such traits less common among the English and less rare among other breeds of men. It does not appear that "outspokenness," "kindness," "frankness,"

"moderation," and "affability" were either nonexistent among the rest of mankind or universal among the English in the seventeenth century, before, or since. Indeed a number of the English figures that appear in the background of the sketches—the mealy-mouthed precisian who turned his old mother out of the house, for example—seem quite devoid of those or any other redeeming characteristics. But Notestein's prejudice in favor of the English—if it be that—is not only an amiable but a useful one. Without it he would be a less amusing, a less enthusiastic, and even a less instructive guide.

Washington University

J. H. HEXTER

JOHN LOCKE: A BIOGRAPHY. By *Maurice Cranston*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. xvi, 496. \$8.00.)

At his death in 1704, the philosopher, John Locke, left his manuscripts and personal papers to his cousin and protégé, Peter King. In time, King rose to be Lord Chancellor, his descendants became the barons King and earls of Lovelace, and Locke's papers, known as the Lovelace Collection, remained the property of the family. In 1948, however, the Bodleian Library was able to obtain the collection from Lord Lovelace by purchase, and a subsequent addition of 166 letters was made in 1953. Thus, a great mass of materials, most of them unknown or hitherto largely inaccessible, became available to scholars. Included in the Lovelace Collection are Locke's notebooks on many subjects, manuscript treatises, detailed money accounts, nearly three thousand letters, and ten volumes of a journal. With these riches, Mr. Cranston has been enabled to write a biography which will doubtless long remain the standard and definitive life of Locke. With the Cranston volume, Locke becomes of all seventeenth-century thinkers the man whose personal life and development is most fully open to us.

If a philosopher be a lover of wisdom and one who strives to exemplify this love by his life, rather than a professional expounder of doctrines in a university, as the weakened modern usage has unfortunately tended to make it, then Locke is surely entitled to that name. There are, of course, various forms of the philosophic life. Locke shaped his in the style of the later seventeenth century, when the religious perplexities of the early Stuart age, the wrestlings of "divided and distinguished worlds," had mainly passed away and while an Augustan calm gained slowly over denominational fanaticism and political rage. He lived by a utilitarian hedonism and a reasonable Christianity. Though he accepted participation in public life, he shunned controversy as far as possible. Prudent, avoiding extremes, he was a man of supreme common sense.

Cranston has provided a vivid account of Locke's intellectual relations and friendships with Englishmen and foreigners. He has also depicted with much artistry the philosopher's characteristics and has not concealed his defects. He has been especially struck by Locke's passion for secrecy and his unremitting efforts to

cover his tracks, to which end he used ciphers, cut names out of letters, and designated friends with pseudonyms and inverted initials. He even resorted to falsification, as when he disclaimed acquaintance with the writings of the notorious Hobbes. "However inappropriately," Cranston declares, "... the founder of the Age of Reason" took "a positively Gothic pleasure in mystery for the sake of mystery." A part of Locke the *mystificateur* is, no doubt, accounted for by idiosyncrasy. But Cranston has perhaps underestimated the hazards of intellectual candor in the seventeenth century. The possibility of persecution for ideas was still real, and some of the doctrines solemnly anathematized by the University of Oxford in 1683 were those which Locke himself held. His connection with the Earl of Shaftesbury was also a risk. Moreover, as Leo Strauss has pointed out in *Natural Right and History* (Chicago, 1953), Locke was careful when expressing his views not always to state them openly and without obscurity, lest they unsettle minds unprepared for all their implications. In short, like some other philosophers, Locke would not admit the world to the full communication of his thoughts and reserved that privilege for the discerning minority guided by reason rather than passion.

Cranston deals only briefly with the substance and evolution of Locke's thought, and here his guidance is sometimes open to question. It does not seem correct, for example, to describe Locke's attitude toward religious toleration in 1659 as "extremely cautious." By that date (he was then twenty-four), his views on the subject appear to have been well formed, and his only scruple, as he remarked, was with respect to Catholics, whose liberty might be incompatible with the nation's security, since they owed allegiance to a foreign power. In general, a larger acquaintance with the tolerationist and political literature of the English revolution might have suggested to Cranston that some of Locke's ideas on both liberty of conscience and government had been almost commonplaces among the theorists of the revolutionary years and that Locke is unlikely to have escaped their influence. In tracing his political beliefs, Cranston is, I think, seriously mistaken when he characterizes Locke in 1660 as a "man of the Right, an extreme authoritarian." He was never that. All his early associations were with Parliamentarians, and it was with the help of the Parliamentary M.P., Alexander Popham, that he obtained his school and university education. While he welcomed the Restoration, it must be remembered that the return of the Stuart meant the end of military rule and restoration of a free parliament as well as of monarchy.

Cranston well summarizes the greatness of Locke's achievement at the conclusion of his splendid biography. Locke, he says, "did not merely enlarge men's knowledge, he changed their ways of thinking."

WATERLOO TO PETERLOO. By R. J. White. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. ix, 202. \$3.75.)

IN any manual of gamesmanship for historians, the phrase "age of transition" must surely occupy a high place of honor, not far behind "social and economic factors" and "climate of opinion." Not only does it obviate the need for analysis by being vaguely yet portentously evocative; it also possesses one other inestimably convenient quality—it can never be wrongly applied. Mr. White's book is a study of the transition forced upon English society and politics by the Industrial Revolution. It is a tribute to the author that unlike the many who, perhaps mistaking them for the weather, talk all the time about transitions without doing anything about them, he brings to his subject a fresh approach and a refusal to accept the obvious.

It is his thesis that the troubled postwar period in England, when a society held together artificially for some time by the need for a united war effort was suddenly laid open to the disruptions long contained within it, must not be regarded merely in the textbook terms of wicked Tory repression and heroic popular agitation. The author shows the extent to which the mental outlook of both governors and governed was still shaped by the values and conventions of the eighteenth century. Liverpool and his colleagues, far from being the ogres of Shelley's imagination, were in fact old-fashioned country gentlemen attempting to steer a middle course between alarmists on the right and insurgents on the left. "What they did not recognize was that a nation of shopkeepers could not continue to be governed by the social and administrative devices of a rural civilization." On the other hand, much of the radical agitation was still essentially simple violence produced by economic necessity. Jeremiah Brandreth's tragicomic "Pentrich Revolution" of 1817 in which the establishment of a provisional government was believed to have something to do with the distribution of provisions is an example.

The real significance of Peterloo, according to White, is that it started out not as a wild protest meeting of persons in distress, but as an orderly demonstration by people who knew that the only remedy for their depressed situation lay in suffrage extension and subsequent legislation. Though the gathering ended tragically, it showed that the pedagogical efforts of men like Cobbett, Cartwright, and Hunt had borne fruit. The future of British radicalism lay on the side not of violence but of political reform.

The book's greatest value lies in the penetrating analysis of the Regency social scene in its opening chapters. The narrative of agitation and alarm which follows is less successful, in spite (or perhaps because) of the author's best efforts to be melodramatic. Thinking only of Chartism, one might question his judgment that Peterloo "marked the point of final conversion of provincial England to the doctrine of First Things First."

Harvard University

JOHN CLIVE

THE ENGLISH COMMON READER: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE MASS READING PUBLIC, 1800-1900. By *Richard D. Altick*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 430. \$6.00.)

THE growth of the reading public with the social and political implications of increasing literacy through the centuries is a subject that is attracting increased attention from social historians. Professor Richard D. Altick has made an important contribution to our understanding of the impact of the printed word upon the population of England in the nineteenth century. Wisely he prefaces his book with three chapters that summarize the influence of popular reading from Caxton's first printing in England in 1477 to the end of the eighteenth century. In the major portion of his book, Altick is concerned with elementary literacy and the growth of an interest in reading in the bulk of the population as distinguished from the more cultivated and sophisticated levels of society. He is also concerned with the motivations that led to the expansion of educational opportunities for the masses and the results of that expansion. Some of his most interesting pages deal with the arguments pro and con for the education of the lower orders of society. The notion that mass education is a way to social salvation is relatively new in the world, and the British ruling classes did not accept the idea without many predictions of disaster and chaos when greasy Joan should waste her time reading novels instead of keeling the pot.

The evolution of a mass reading public accelerated throughout the nineteenth century and received constant stimulation from a number of influences exerted by religious groups, the utilitarian philosophy, the development of elementary and secondary schools, the founding of mechanics' institutes, the expansion of the book trade, the reduction in the price of books, and the rise of popular newspapers and magazines, all of which have significant chapters in Altick's study. In appendixes he provides an interesting list of best sellers and statistics on the circulation of magazines and newspapers.

At a time when Aldus in Venice was printing the classics for scholarly readers and printers elsewhere in Europe were more concerned with producing monuments of learning in Latin than with printing anything in the languages of their countries, it is significant that Caxton chose to print popular books in the English vernacular. His decision argues that England already had a sufficiently large number of people who could read to offer a promising market for English books. The start that Caxton made in providing reading matter for ordinary Englishmen set a pattern for publication that was followed in later generations, and from his time onward there is a steady expansion of the reading public, though not always in proportion to the growth of population, as Altick points out. Various reasons account for the failure of literacy always to keep pace with the population: neglect of education in certain periods, economic depressions, the high cost of books in

relation to wages, and other factors such as the relative amount of a workman's wages that went for drink.

By the first third of the nineteenth century, religious and business groups generally agreed that a little education was good for the masses, though the farming interests fought even elementary education that might disturb the equanimity of their low-paid laborers. Industrialists believed that a modicum of education would "safeguard men's minds against thoughts of rebellion," improve their morals, and make them steadier workers. There was widespread fear, nevertheless, that too much reading would unsettle the masses, and the great problem was to limit the dose of education to precisely the amount that would be useful. Educational leaders "believed it possible to draw a line between literacy for the sole purpose of learning one's religious duties and ordained place in life, and literacy for undesirable ends." History has long since demonstrated the naïveté of this view, and the Russians are experiencing today the difficulties of providing education without having the educated ask embarrassing questions about the orthodoxies of the ruling class.

Reformers of the later nineteenth century changed their views and accepted mass education as a method of attaining Utopia. In this they proved almost as naïve as their predecessors. Literacy increased but so did the appetite for literature that was not noticeably "elevating." The masses continued to demonstrate prejudices and shortcomings not improved by the weekend reading of murders and scandals chronicled by the sensational press. Today the *Sunday News-of-the-World*, unparalleled even in America for sensational drivel, is reported to have the largest circulation of any newspaper in existence. Despite this growth of the appetite for rubbish, the taste of the English public for worth-while books has reached a point where the English market for a work of nonfiction is frequently larger than the market in the United States, which has more than three times the population. Altick has made good use of both secondary material and primary sources in his study. He has written a readable and a significant book which no social historian of modern England can afford to overlook. He has also provided a helpful bibliography and valuable documentation.

The Folger Library

LOUIS B. WRIGHT

THE GREAT FAMINE: STUDIES IN IRISH HISTORY, 1845-52. Edited by R. Dudley Edwards and T. Desmond Williams. (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 517. \$6.00)

THIS is a distinguished book and an important contribution to the history of nineteenth-century Ireland. The Great Famine in all its horror is here, but the interpretation which it receives should do much to end the long legend that its worst results came from the neglect and ill intent of Englishmen. "Human limitations and timidity," write the editors, "dominate the story of the Great Famine,

but of great and deliberately imposed evil in high positions of responsibility there is little evidence. The really great evil lay in the totality of that social order which made such a famine possible. . . ."

Originally published in Dublin, these studies are a cooperative effort of scholars in Ireland and Great Britain working in such fields as history, literature, and medicine. The book was organized and planned by Irish scholars in Ireland. The first two chapters, "Ireland on the Eve of the Famine" by R. B. McDowell, and "Agriculture" by E. R. R. Green, present a remarkably clear view of prefamine Irish society. Professor McDowell discusses population, industries and communications, central and local government, poverty, education, and the churches. Particularly useful is his analysis of the difficulties and accomplishments of state action in the field of Irish reform. These two chapters furnish one of the best short reviews of early nineteenth-century Ireland available anywhere. Kevin B. Nowlan, in chapter III, studies the impact of the famine on the repeal movement, on Young Ireland, and on British politics. Chapters IV, V, and VI deal with the famine itself. Thomas P. O'Neill examines the organization and administration of relief; Sir William P. MacArthur, lecturer in tropical medicine at Oxford, writes on the medical aspects; and Oliver MacDonagh discusses the emigration. There is a final chapter, "The Famine in Irish Oral Tradition," by Roger McHugh.

For historians of the famine, and certainly for Irish historians, some searching judgments on the policies of British statesmen are inevitable. The judgments made here are generous. Peel comes off better than Russell, although the authors agree that he faced the lesser crisis. Russell himself, hampered though he was by the rigidities of *laissez faire*, is given credit for seeing the necessity for radical Irish reform. The outstanding merit of these chapters is that they show the interaction of things British and Irish. Englishmen, in their own world, moved slowly toward reform, torn between concepts of private property and initiative and the new humanitarianism. Their experience suggested to them no radical solutions for Ireland. Yet when famine came, Englishmen were, according to their lights, not ungenerous. "The cost of combating the famine," Dr. Nowlan reminds us, "was enormous and unprecedented in its period."

Contemporaries, however, knew little of British efforts and intentions. They saw instead the inadequate relief measures, the cruelties of the quarter acre clause, and grain leaving open ports while people starved. From this mass suffering there arose an interpretation of the famine which has persisted from that day to this: that Britain deliberately made use of the famine to promote the clearance of surplus population by starvation and exile. John Mitchel thought this, and so did Arthur Griffith. The interpretation is still suggested in so recent a work as P. S. O'Hegerty's *History of Ireland under the Union*. The present volume has abandoned this view of the famine but makes clear how significant a historical role the older interpretation has played. One criticism of British policy should be

noted. The editors suggest that the famine in its own cruel way opened the road to reform. In failing to reconstruct Irish society on a more equitable basis, Britain lost the chance to influence Anglo-Irish relations for the better. This, of course, raises large questions.

The authors have studied an impressive list of manuscripts, parliamentary papers, newspapers, and printed sources. From a volume so rich in fact and analysis it may seem ungracious to ask more. A chapter on the Irish aristocracy and gentry during the famine, however, would have been welcome.

Connecticut College

HELEN F. MULVEY

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. Edited by *E. L. Woodward* and *Rohan Butler*. Second Series, Volume V, 1933. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1956. Pp. lxxxix, 908. \$17.50 postpaid.)

THIS is as interesting a volume as its immediate predecessors were dull, for it reveals the British government, hitherto somewhat scornful of Weimar Germany, suddenly confronted by the phenomenon of Nazi Germany. That this was something completely different was made clear by a remarkable despatch from the ambassador in Berlin, Sir H. Rumbold, who in three months had sensed thoroughly the most dangerous aspects of the Hitler regime (No. 36, April 26, 1933); the despatch was read by the prime minister and circulated to the cabinet. This was followed by another despatch of June 30, when Rumbold was retiring, which emphasized that the persons directing the Hitler government were "not normal," being "fanatics, hooligans and eccentrics," and that "neither Hitler nor his ministers have themselves any clear idea of the course which events will take" (No. 229). Later despatches (Nos. 332, August 15, and 492, October 25) commented on the general "apathy" of the country and expressed deep skepticism as to Hitler's professed pacifism.

The Nazi regime presented two main problems to the British government. First, its treatment of the Jews aroused great indignation in Britain, and the Foreign Office was constrained to speak sternly in Berlin, but of course to no avail. Rumbold noted that while the Jewish boycott had not been popular throughout the country, there had been "no noteworthy revulsion of feeling in favour of the Jews" (No. 30).

The other British problem was the deadlock at the Geneva conference for the reduction and limitation of armaments, and most of the documents in this volume deal with this problem and the related Four-Power Pact proposed by Mussolini. As the Germans were determined to rearm unless the Allies disarmed and the latter were not willing to do this without guarantees from Germany, no agreement was possible. The foreign secretary, Sir John Simon, kept arguing with the Germans like the lawyer he was. While he was away on holiday in the summer,

British policy was directed by Sir Robert Vansittart, the permanent undersecretary of the Foreign Office, who talked in terms of diplomacy rather than law. "The only efficacious means of making the German Government see reason in foreign affairs is joint action by, and close collaboration between, the three Great Powers [Britain, France, Italy] on whom under the League, and as permanent members of the Council, must fall a great part of the ultimate responsibility for maintaining the peace of Europe so long as Germany persist in course clearly out of harmony with the spirit of the Four-Power Pact" (No. 345). But not even Vansittart's adroitness could maintain a united front against Germany, for Italy gave some support to German demands. A speech at Geneva by Simon gave Hitler the excuse needed to withdraw from the conference and from the League of Nations (Nos. 454, 455). One of Simons' difficulties was that he refused to make any new commitments to France and Italy (No. 412).

A final chapter is devoted to Anglo-American discussions about the British war debt to the United States—111 pages as against 21 in *Foreign Relations of the United States* for 1933. The British hoped to have their debt canceled by the Roosevelt administration and were determined, in any case, not to pay more than they received from their debtors in Europe. They also wished to have any settlement tied up with the work of the World Economic Conference which met in London in the spring of 1933. On all three points they were beaten by the United States. President Roosevelt refused to link the question of debts with the Economic Conference, forced them to recognize the continued existence of the obligation, and persuaded them to pay \$10,000,000 in December, 1933, in order not to be declared in default, although they had got nothing from their European creditors.

Alexandria, Virginia

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT

HISTORY OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR (United Kingdom Military Series). GRAND STRATEGY, Volume II, SEPTEMBER 1939–JUNE 1941. By J. R. M. Butler. Volume VI, OCTOBER 1944–AUGUST 1945. By John Ehrman. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1957; 1956. Pp. xix, 603; xvi, 422. \$7.82; \$5.60 postpaid.)

"MONTHS of Defeat" and "Months of Victory" might well have been the titles of these two volumes which, appearing out of sequence in a series of British official histories, contrast Allied fortunes in World War II at their worst and best. Professor Butler, emeritus professor of modern history, Cambridge, and editor of the series, describes the grim days between the German invasion of Poland and the attack on the Soviet Union twenty-two months later; Professor Ehrman, also of Cambridge and author of a previous volume of this series, traces Allied strategy in the happier period between the second Quebec Conference and the defeat of Japan. Both books maintain the high standard of scholarship and impartiality set by the earlier volumes edited by Butler. Excellent maps and charts are included.

The authors, while making effective use of published memoirs and official histories, have drawn on the main British government sources and on German documents in the possession of the British and American governments. They have benefited from unpublished narratives prepared by the historical sections of the British Navy, Army, and Air Force. The extent of their use of source material is obscured to some extent by the British rule of not including references to documents not open to public inspection. A careful reading will show that they have added materially to the story told by Mr. Churchill and other major participants in the war effort.

Butler is more plain spoken than his colleague in criticizing errors in Allied strategy and leadership, as one might expect from an author dealing with the months which saw the rapid overrunning of Poland, fiasco in Norway, the fall of the Low Countries and France, staggering blows from enemy U-boats and the Luftwaffe, the loss to the Allied cause of Yugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, and Greece, Italy's entry into the war against the Allies, constant anxiety over Spanish neutrality, the worsening of the situation in the Middle East and North Africa, and the southward moves in the Pacific by Japan. The tremendous burden resting on Britain, particularly after the fall of France, is graphically shown by Butler in his description of the problems facing only one British commander. Paying tribute to General Wavell, he says: "He and his staff had indeed borne a colossal burden, greater perhaps than any British commander in the past: the control of active operations in Libya, Kenya, the Sudan, Somaliland, Abyssinia, Greece, Crete, Syria and Iraq; the taking of precaution against internal trouble in Egypt and Palestine; diplomatic relations with an Ethiopian emperor, a Greek king, a Turkish president, and a Free French leader. . . ." Worse still, as the author notes, Cairo and Whitehall spent more time in finding an additional brigade group to send to the Middle East than Hitler did to find more than one hundred divisions to attack Russia.

But the period was not all black. There were errors and weaknesses on the enemy's side. In support of the Allied cause, there were the tremendous exertions and courage of the British people, the contributions of the Dominions, the efforts of the Free French and other refugee groups, and the sympathy of the United States, whose neutrality constantly increased in benevolence. At one of the darkest moments of the war, there appeared as prime minister one who "possessed in a supreme degree the qualities needed for the hour: vigilance, drive, joy of battle, love of responsibility, resounding eloquence, and above all courage and faith. . . ."

Ehrman, in looking at the world some three years later, is able to tell a story filled with successes. In his opening pages the Allies stand at Germany's West Wall in Europe and are preparing in the Pacific for a return to the Philippines. The conferences of the period are concerned not with means of finding how to make inadequate resources meet the enemy threats but with measures for dealing with the enemy in defeat. Two of Ehrman's best chapters are his concluding ones,

the first dealing with the decision to employ the atomic bomb and the second with the staff organizations that enabled the Allies to wage war successfully against the Axis powers. The author not only makes a complex subject clear but adds some of the most accurate sketches of the Allied leaders yet to appear. Readers who were disturbed by some of Field Marshal Alanbrooke's diary entries about his associates will find valuable correctives in Ehrman's judgments. The scholarly and judicious approach shown in the descriptions is characteristic of these official volumes.

Washington, D. C.

FORREST C. POGUE

BRITAIN, COMMONWEALTH AND EMPIRE, 1901-1955. By *Paul Knaplund*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. [1957.] Pp. xii, 541. \$6.00.)

ONLY a veteran in this field, as Professor Knaplund is, could have written this book. Severely pragmatic in temper, yet sympathetic and magnanimous, factual in the best sense, and showing a remarkable ability to reduce complex issues to their simplest terms, the book deserves a wide audience.

Part I, devoted to the period 1901-1931, has chapters on Britain, imperial relations and policies, British North America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, and the colonial empire. Part II covers the years 1931-1955 in chapters entitled "Shrinking Imperial Frontiers," "A Changing Commonwealth," "Nations of Southern Asia," "The British Empire," "The Political Scene," and "Economic History and Social Problems." The book is well supplied with maps. The bibliography is rather a mixed bag; it has a number of odd inclusions and omits some important books. State papers are not mentioned, nor, more surprisingly, are any of the official war histories of the Commonwealth. For nearly the whole period, official archives are not available, but they throw much light on important aspects of the story. The war histories had access to them, and reference to the official histories might, for example, have led to a better appreciation of Lend Lease and of the economic consequences of the war.

The author's aim as set out in his preface is to "emphasize how numerous are the strands in the story of overseas Britain." This he has done with such a broad range of knowledge and such mastery of the art of summarizing complex episodes in a few sharp sentences that the book is of value not only for the general reader but also as background for the specialist in British and Commonwealth studies.

It is only when the quicksands of very recent times are approached that the sure hand shows any signs of faltering. Thus the four pages devoted to recent events in East Africa seem out of scale. The paragraphs pointed toward the future are generally sound enough, but the page on the Gold Coast and South Africa is open to question. Already in 1955, within the author's period, the gov-

ernment of Mr. Strijdom had indicated publicly that the Union would not oppose the entry of Ghana into the Commonwealth.

When a book offers so much, to want more seems presumptuous. Yet one misses certain general themes, touched on in the book too lightly if at all. Little or nothing is said on an aspect of great importance—the parliamentary side of the Commonwealth and Empire, the role of parliamentary institutions, procedures, and symbols, the “community of parliamentarians.” Symbols of common interest and unity play a greater role than the study implies. More could have been said also on the importance of internal communications for the Commonwealth and on Britain’s role here as originator, channel, and coordinator. The part played by the city of London is worth more attention. And it may be that in historical retrospect we shall learn to place more emphasis on the role of the United States, not as divider, but as unifier of the Commonwealth.

Washington, D. C.

H. DUNCAN HALL

IN DEFENCE OF COLONIES: BRITISH COLONIAL TERRITORIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. By *Sir Alan Burns*. (New York: Macmillan Company; London: George Allen and Unwin. 1957. Pp. 338. \$5.75.)

FORTY-TWO years in the British colonial service and nine years as the United Kingdom representative on the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations provide Sir Alan Burns with credentials to write on the British colonial system. Annoyed with the abuse constantly heaped upon this system by Arab, Indian, Latin American, and Russian critics he analyzes these attacks, defends Britain’s record as an imperial power, and discusses in considerable detail the claims made by other powers to present-day British colonial territories.

The author has little difficulty in showing that the countries which are most critical of the British record have far worse records of their own. Whether we look to the past or examine the present we find that the Arab and Latin American countries, India, and Russia, while keenly aware of the mote in Britain’s eye, ignore the beam in their own. With particular emphasis on the attitudes of the United States, Soviet Russia, India, and Latin America, Sir Alan presents the point of view of members of the United Nations toward dependent territories.

He sketches rather briefly the way in which the British colonies were acquired, their constitutional development and administration, and their progress in self-government. In this discussion he omits all reference to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, which at one time were British dependencies but are now sovereign nations. Considerable attention is devoted to the African territories obtained by Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is well known that in these areas Britain rescued millions from utter degradation, cannibalism, human sacrifice, slavery, and the slave trade. Peoples such as those in the Gold Coast and the Sudan who had long been fear

haunted and exposed to inhuman exploitation by Arab slave traders were given governments based on enlightened principles of law and justice, and their countries now are self-governing and independent. The remarkable progress made in those two countries as well as in Nigeria since the beginning of the present century could not have been made without tutelage and the wise guidance provided by British administrators and statesmen. These are facts that can be denied only by the most ignorant or malicious of British detractors.

Sir Alan is admittedly a defender of Britain as an imperial power. It is therefore not surprising that he passes rather lightly over motives other than the idealistic ones prompting British imperial expansion in Africa. He emphasizes—and quite rightly—that among those motives the moral feeling against the slave trade was extremely important, but he slights the desire for economic gain and virtually ignores the fact that in many instances Britain seized African lands in order to forestall French and German rivals. He makes practically no mention of the depletion of African mineral resources, such as the copper of Northern Rhodesia, where mineral wealth is extracted and African labor exploited for the benefit of British and American investors. Burns, however, is justified in pointing with pride to his country's achievement in providing internal security and development capital, fighting successfully diseases of men, plants, and animals, introducing new crops, and creating facilities for foreign commerce, thereby bestowing immense benefits on Africa. In this connection mention may be made of the introduction of cotton into Uganda, coffee into Kenya, tea into Nyasaland, and cocoa to the Gold Coast and Nigeria and of the vastly increased production of other tropical produce. In doing this Britain has laid economic foundations for political and social progress in these lands.

Answering those who believe that political independence is the panacea for all the problems of dependent areas, the author invites comparisons between Haiti and Jamaica, Liberia and the Gold Coast. Though most of the areas now held by Britain but claimed by other powers are of relatively small political and economic importance, Burns devotes a goodly portion of his book to this problem. On all the issues involved Sir Alan presents strong historical and legal arguments for the preservation of the status quo. The book contains much useful information and states many truths which need stating.

Madison, Wisconsin

PAUL KNAPLUND

THE GERMAN POLICY OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE: A STUDY IN FRENCH DIPLOMACY DURING THE WAR OF THE FIRST COALITION, 1792-1797. Volumes I and II. By *Sydney Seymour Biro*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 480; ix, 484-1104. \$15.00 the set.)

THESE volumes, comparable in length to Sidney B. Fay's *Origins of the World War*, elucidate in minute detail French policy in Germany during the six year

period 1792-1797. With seemingly limitless courage and resolution the author has read the enormous printed literature and has combed the French, Austrian, Prussian, and British archives for his materials. The resulting account bears the imprint of authority; at the same time it reflects the author's legal training. All these things are to the good.

Unlike the recent two-volume study of Godechot, *La grand nation: l'expansion révolutionnaire de la France dans le monde 1789-1799* (see review in *AHR*, LXII [July, 1957], 904-906), which strives to reach new general interpretations, the book under review makes its contribution by being unique in its factual completeness and by correcting in some passages the older works of Sorel, Guyot, and others. Particularly important is the detached view of this American historian who, better than earlier French and German scholars, can view the Rhine as something other than a bloody moat over which the flags fly. That some of this detachment today may be found as near the Rhine as Toulouse, but that subtle differences remain, may be demonstrated by comparing the accounts of Godechot and Biro of the "elections" held in Mayence in March, 1793. The French historian writes: "En Rhénanie, une 'convention rhénane' se ressembla à Mayence, composée des seuls 'patriotes' élus par une infime minorité d'habitants. Ella vota, le 21 mars 1793, la réunion à la France." The American has this to say: "How did the elections turn out? At Mayence, there were but 375 citizens who had both taken the oath and voted (out of 10,000 qualified voters!); at Worms, there were but 427; at Spire, 342. Though but an insignificant fraction of the qualified electors had gone to the polls, and though but few sections were represented at all, the majority of the votes cast was in favor of the annexationists, and Forster, brimming with enthusiasm, declared that the vote for incorporation with France was unanimous." Godechot argues that the principles of the Revolution were accepted abroad but that occupation policies and administrative practices alienated liberty loving foreign peoples. Biro has little to say about principles. He presents, however, a wealth of evidence showing that French pillage, or occupation charges (call it what you will), sought not simply to sustain the armies but were intended to yield a profit for the bankrupt government at home. Liberty outside of France as well as inside came at a price and a fairly high one at that. Both authors know Zeller's work on what might be called the myth of natural frontiers. Biro nicely points out that by 1797 Bonaparte viewed natural boundaries as a limitation rather than a program of expansion. One might conjecture that by that time Bonaparte envisaged France's natural frontiers as the Atlantic, Baltic, Vistula, Adriatic, and Mediterranean.

The summaries at the close of each volume will be of special interest to the general reader who might not wish to wade through the enormous detail of the entire work. It is strikingly pointed out at the end of Volume I that Prussia in 1795 preferred having France on the Rhine to Imperial Austria, and France in turn sought alliance with Prussia. The Convention could not afford peace with

the small German states which nourished the Republican armies, and here lay a contradiction between economic necessity and political interest. At the close of Volume II, which carries through the Treaty of Campo Formio, the Directory still pursued this mercenary policy toward the Germanies. The army thus remained an excellent fund raising agency if a poor instrument of public relations. Bonaparte, probably from motives of personal ambition, preferred peace with Austria and showed no interest in strengthening Prussia. In the Directory's awareness of the economic importance of Northern Europe stands a vague forerunner of the continental system.

This is an excellent piece of historical research. Its expression is sometimes heavier and less imaginative than one might wish. The seventy-four-page chapter iv seems inordinately long. The magnificent bibliographical essay should include the works on the Directory of Mathiez and Lefebvre as it should Godechot's *Les commissaires aux armées sous le Directoire* (Paris, 1941) and Reinhard's biography of Carnot (Paris, 1950-1952). These final observations are offered with praise in hope that the author's forthcoming study on "The German Policy of the Purged Directory" may profit from them. The present work represents an exhaustive account. With its careful scholarship and subsequent discovery and use of new materials, it will remain an important source for future general histories and interpretative works.

Northwestern University

RICHARD M. BRACE

LES RÉVOLUTIONS ALLEMANDES DE 1848. By Jacques Droz. D'après un manuscrit et des notes de E. Tonnelat. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Clermont, Deuxième série, fascicule 6.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. 656.)

SINCE the appearance more than twenty-five years ago of Veit Valentin's magisterial *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-49*, historians have been understandably reluctant to undertake another large-scale examination of the revolutionary movement which swept over Central Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century. Overawed by the sheer encyclopedic weight of one of the great achievements of German historiography under the Weimar Republic, they have too often confined themselves to special problems and esoteric aspects of 1848, to nationalism or labor or democracy, and sometimes simply to academic odds and ends. But Professor Jacques Droz is not easily intimidated, and he is too fine a scholar to seek refuge in the trivial. Relying on the voluminous notes of the deceased eminent Germanist Ernest Tonnelat and on his own extensive researches in the political development of Germany, he has produced a new major history of the German Revolution of 1848 which takes into account the mass of publications written in the last quarter century. His purpose is modestly described in the preface: "I of course do not presume to have written a definitive work.

... But I thought that the moment had come to present a provisional synthesis."

The result is a historian's history, scholarly, judicious, thorough. The first section deals with the German Confederation in the forties, its constitutional structure, its national longing, its liberal aspiration, its economic growth. Then comes the revolution proper, the spring uprising, the establishment of the new order, the work of the Frankfurt Parliament, the decline of insurrectionary fervor, and the conservative victory in Austria and Prussia. Finally, there is a sympathetic account of the desperate efforts to save the cause of freedom in the spring of 1849, the completion of the federal constitution, the rejection of the imperial crown by Frederick William IV, the dissolution of the national assembly, and the futile democratic uprisings against the flowing tide of reaction. As the triumphant armies of the *ancien régime* stamp out the last sparks of resistance and the bravest sons of the revolution hasten into exile in Switzerland and America, Droz ends the story with a sigh: "Over a Germany drained of her substance the peace of the cemetery will reign for a long time."

Although a great economic depression, a world war, and a generation of scholarship stand between Valentin and Droz, the revolution which they describe is unmistakably the same. The latter is perhaps somewhat more concerned with the religious issues which affected the outcome of the political movement; perhaps he analyzes more closely the composition of labor organizations, the polemical activities of Marx, and the prevalence of class consciousness. Yet for both the true hero of 1848 is the egalitarian democracy of urban radicalism, its villain the unholy alliance between conservative aristocracy and liberal plutocracy directed against the masses. Both deplore the growing estrangement between bourgeois and proletarian after the March days, which made possible the ultimate victory of the reaction; both share a profound faith, possibly too great a faith, in the thirst of the man in the street for constitutional freedom. In their common dedication to scholarship and their common sense of humaneness differences of nationality and background seem to vanish. A French historian who has lived through the days of August, 1914, and June, 1940, can write that "it would thus be altogether erroneous to present the liberals of Frankfurt as the ancestors of Hitler and to define some of their statements as the expression of a will to conquest characteristic of the German soul." He can reject the thesis of an inherent civic deficiency of the Teutonic mind, "because acts of political courage or initiative, individual or collective, were as numerous in Germany in 1848 as in the other European states." Invoking the brave dream of the "spring-time of peoples" of a hundred years ago, he concludes his work with a devout affirmation: "Contemporary Germany can legitimately seek her claims to democracy in 1848."

University of Illinois

THEODORE S. HAMEROW

THE VIENNESE REVOLUTION OF 1848. By R. John Rath. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 424. \$6.50.)

THIS fine, well-written, scholarly monograph, based on careful and thorough research, fills a very important gap; there is nothing comparable to it in English. The author sticks strictly to his subject as stated: it is a history of the revolutionary movement in Vienna in 1848, not a history of the Habsburg Empire during that year or of the German and other national movements of the period. After sketching the pre-March political system of the Habsburgs and tracing the development of a spirit of opposition and the drift toward revolution, Rath presents in fine detail the March uprising. With the same vividness he portrays the reception in the capital of the April constitution, the revolution of May and flight of the Emperor, the high tide of the movement in early summer, and the consequent widening gaps among the elements which had effectively cooperated in the early stages. Then follow accounts of the defeat of the proletariat and of the lower middle class and the crushing of the revolution by the army of Prince Windischgrätz in October.

Although the spotlight is focused constantly on Vienna, the events in Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, and Italy, so far as they had repercussions in Vienna or inspired expressions of attitudes, are adequately explained. Interwoven with the chapters on the political events are extensive quotations from the contemporary literature and descriptions of the revolutionary press. These translations into English are artfully done and help greatly to convey the spirit of the time. Having elected to write in English the author has consistently done so; he has kept his text clear of italicized foreign words. Rath recognizes in his preface that one may judge the movements of 1848 by the political standards of our own day or evaluate them from the standpoint of the contemporary ideologies. Consciously he chose the latter course. The reviewer feels that in practice he has done even better; he has explained precisely what happened and how it happened and thus places the reader in a position to reach his own judgments. A large number of actors inevitably crowd onto the stage in the mob scenes of revolution; the *dramatis personae* in the appendix is of great aid in following the action. Nowhere does the author go beyond the basis of soundly documented facts. The economic interests of the upper, of the lower middle class, and of the proletariat are clearly delineated, and the effect of the revolution itself in augmenting the economic crisis is well brought out. The revolutionary experiment with public works projects similar to the National Workshops of Paris is nicely developed. At the same time the dilemmas which were forced on Vienna by Milan, Prague, Frankfurt, and Budapest are clearly set forth. "The great difficulty was that liberalism meant too many things to too many people."

The synthesis is based on careful exploitation of the University of Colorado 1848 Austrian Revolution Collection and wide acquaintance with the literature

of 1848. The reviewer is left simply to wonder why Veit Valentin's monumental *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-49* is not listed in the bibliography.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

THE REICHSWEHR AND THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, 1919-1926. By Harold J. Gordon, Jr. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 478. \$8.50.)

WITH this monograph, Mr. Gordon joins those writers who have been studying the relations between military and civilian authority in Germany. Concentrating on the period from the end of World War I to the dismissal of Hans von Seeckt as head of the army, the author analyzes the transition from the imperial army to the Reichswehr and traces the policies of the latter in organizational questions and in relation to the Germany of those years. This is done with commendable care and elaborate documentation. The sections dealing with the provisional Reichswehr and the Reichswehr's internal policies are especially good. In addition to a painstaking review of administrative matters, a new picture of Seeckt and his Reichswehr is presented.

Seeckt appears as a moderate and loyal supporter of a republic whose basic premises were alien to his personal views; the early Freikorps and the Reichswehr are pictured as the saviors of Germany's order and unity. In contrast to this laudable behavior of the military was the generally overcritical and uncooperative attitude of the republic's largest party—the Social Democrats. This thesis is buttressed by the author's discussion of the crises of 1919-1923, often in the light of new insights gained from unpublished sources.

There is much to be said for these interpretations; but if the book is not entirely convincing, it may be because an interesting thesis is carried too far. The author has too rigorously excluded things outside the period covered. Working-class opposition to the military is hardly explained. The comment that Baden passed through the revolutionary turmoils most peacefully could have provided an opportunity for some discussion of Prussia's very different past. In the section on the Reichswehr's relations with the German Nationalist party, there is no mention of Seeckt's later Reichstag membership as one of that party's delegates. The view that Seeckt's "deals" with the Soviets and his large-scale violations of the disarmament clauses of the peace treaty started after the occupation of the Ruhr is untenable. The documents now available on the plans for a sixty-three-division army in the early 1920's show that Seeckt's projected army was hardly to be a "small one." The peaceful and defensive policies of Seeckt must not be confused with his hopes; even Gordon admits that Poland was an exception. The very ease with which order was reestablished in Germany raises the suspicion that not only the Kapp Putsch was foreordained to fail; in retrospect, the dangers from the "left" appear somewhat overrated. Does not the credit for Germany's

unity belong primarily to the people as a whole, rather than the Reichswehr? Neither of the real threats to unity—France and separatism—could have been met by the Reichswehr; France could have won a war, and if the masses on the left bank of the Rhine or in Bavaria had wanted to separate, the Reichswehr could not have stopped them. The author's welcome reinterpretation is thus somewhat vitiated by overstatement.

Although this work may go too far in its general thesis, and in spite of some repetitions and minor slips, there can be no doubting its solid contribution to the military and political history of modern Germany. The author is to be especially commended for his presentation of technical military matters in readily understandable narrative, and one hopes that he will continue to work on themes requiring this rare ability.

University of Kentucky

GERHARD L. WEINBERG

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM IN SWEDEN, 1866-1921. By *Douglas V. Verney*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 295. \$7.20.)

THE subject matter of this book is much the same as that of Dankwart Rustow's *The Politics of Compromise; A Study of Parties and Cabinet Government in Sweden* (Princeton, N. J., 1955). Rustow tends to emphasize the current generation, his organization and focus are socio-political, and he treats a broad scene broadly. Verney does not hold himself to the date limits in his title, but he deals more with conditions before 1866 than with events since 1921, his organization and method are historical, and his focus is purely political. Conditioning social and economic forces appear only hazily, except for the pre-1866 epoch which is handled broadly. Verney makes the reader feel the slow gradualness of the growth of parliamentary power and democratic monarchy, in which Sweden was oddly behind Norway, Denmark, and Great Britain. The reasons, he seems to say, lie partly in Swedish tradition, but even more in the strengths and weaknesses of men: Oscar II, DeGeer, Staaff, Branting, and others who come to life in these pages. A miniature *Who's Who* in a twenty-four-page appendix is a good reference tool.

The great reform of 1866, as Verney says, was the culmination of a series of reforms, not the revolutionary prelude to an era of change; quite possibly it delayed social revolution. When the two-chamber *Riksdag* replaced the Four Estates, much the same men were in attendance (just as in England after 1832). Neither nobles nor priests had any longer any special right to sit in the *Riksdag*, but the First Chamber was intended nevertheless as the stronghold of property; restricted suffrage and plural voting for wealth and business interests kept it so until further reforms in 1907 and 1918. Verney makes interesting comparisons between the Swedish structure and American, French, and British, but the conclusion is inescapable that from DeGeer's "capitalist-conservative" creation of 1866

through later modifications the Swedish system evolved out of Swedish conditions to meet Swedish needs. Nineteenth-century liberals rejected Adolf Hedin's appeals to American political principles and practices, and twentieth-century social democrats have swung away from both Karl Marx and Soviet Russia. Foreign patterns have been observed but not copied.

The issues discussed here are those with direct significance for parliamentary organization and functioning; within this realm the treatment is superb. Close consultation with Swedish scholars is evident and has spared the author the petty errors that often mar the work of non-natives. In translating terms from Swedish the principle has been meaning rather than literalness. The result is a tightly written and enlightening political history.

Northwestern University

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT

RUCH CHŁOPSKI W GALICJI W 1846 ROKU [The Peasant Movement in Galicia in 1846]. By *Stefan Kieniewicz*. (Wrocław: Ossolinski Publishing Institute. 1951. Pp. xxii, 369. Zł. 20.)

MATERIAŁY DO DZIEJÓW CHŁOPA WIELKOPOLSKIEGO W DRUGIEJ POŁOWIE XVIII WIEKU [Materials on the History of the Peasant in Greater Poland in the Second Half of the 18th Century]. Tom I, WOJEWÓDZTWO POZNAŃSKIE [Poznan Province]; Tom II, WOJEWÓDZTWO GNIEŹNIENSKIE [Gniezno Province]. Selected by *Janusz Deresiewicz*. [Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute. Series II, Inventories of Real Estate.] (Wrocław: Ossolinski Institute, Polish Academy of Sciences Publishing House. 1956. Pp. viii, 412. Zł. 64.)

THE monograph by Kieniewicz deals with one of the most tragic and complex events in modern Polish history, the massacre of the nobility by the peasants in Galicia in 1846. The author, a well-known historian, approaches the subject from a rather novel viewpoint. His main object is not to dwell on the guilt of the Austrian authorities (the Austrians encouraged the peasants, in order to stop the Polish insurrection just beginning at that time) but to analyze the peasant movement in Galicia which made the massacre possible.

This point of departure led the author to adopt a specific approach to his study. He begins with an analysis of the economic and social structure of the country, concentrating on the question of serfdom. He then discusses the plans of the Polish democrats for a national rising against Austria, which would also emancipate the peasants and force the nobles to join in the movement. Kieniewicz distinguishes these plans from the conservative ideas on insurrection aimed at basing the rising on the nobles and bringing in the peasants by offering them emancipation. He shows convincingly the complexity of the situation, the position of the nobles, and the mutual distrust between peasants and nobility. As for the government in Vienna, it did not want to prevent a rising because an insurrection could be used as a pretext for annexing Cracow. The local Austrian authorities meanwhile pursued

contradictory policies. The Machiavellian plan of using the dissatisfied peasantry as a weapon to smash the national uprising emerges clearly in the case of such local officials as Breinl and Bernd.

Kieniewicz's thesis is that the massacre of 1846 did not originate from a planned Austrian action but stemmed from the existing, antinoble peasant movement which was used and exploited by local Austrian administrators. He believes that a Polish national insurrection in 1846 had either to be based on the nobility and thus necessarily provoke a peasant reaction, or to rely on the peasant masses and in this case turn against the Polish nobles as well as against Austria. In other words, class antagonism in mid-nineteenth-century Galicia was so strong that a national uprising had to be a social revolution at the same time. Summing up the effects of the 1846 massacre, Kieniewicz admits that it left only "devastation, mourning, and misery" in Galicia and had unfortunate repercussions on the course of subsequent Polish revolutionary activities in 1848. On the other hand, he states that the outbreak eventually contributed to a solution of the peasant question two years later, not only in Galicia but in the whole Habsburg monarchy.

For a book written with such a clear-cut thesis Kieniewicz's monograph is surprisingly free from Marxist clichés or crude dogmatism. It is well written and documented and undoubtedly makes an important contribution to knowledge of the subject. But it is hardly—as even the author admits, though for different reasons—the last word on it. One can strongly disagree with Kieniewicz's general approach, which is quite controversial. Not only class consciousness but the low level of the peasantry was responsible for the massacre, and the peasants were "taken in" by Austria to a much larger extent than the author is willing to admit. Without having to deny the existence of a class antagonism, one feels that Kieniewicz brings it out so forcibly that all the other elements, which he also discusses, were bound—to borrow a Marxist phrase—to wither away.

The important place assigned to social history in contemporary Polish historiography is also illustrated by the two-volume selection of documents bearing on the peasantry in Greater Poland. The documents—inventories of real estate—are published for the first time and are certainly a valuable contribution, but the question may arise as to how judicious was their selection. The inventories are meant to provide the reader with "a fairly complete characterization" of the late eighteenth century, "during which changes in the development of the means of production and in the production relationships heralded the coming of a decisive change in the feudal structure of society." It is impossible to say without a study of the archives themselves whether the concern of the editors to select documents which would show the "change in the basis" led to a biased approach. The introduction, written in the orthodox Marxist fashion, is not too reassuring, but perhaps it is only a perfunctory bow in the direction of the official and sacrosanct interpretation of history.

Indiana University

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ

STUDIA NAD HISTORIA POLSKIEJ MYŚLI EKONOMICZNEJ [Studies in the History of Polish Economic Thought]. By *Edward Lipiński*. (Warsaw: State Scientific Publishing House. 1956. Pp. 536. Zł. 40.80.)

THIS important book serves to bring out the curious provincialism of histories of economic thought written in English. With the exception of Copernicus, not one of the writers dealt with by Lipiński receives so much as a mention in the standard histories of economic thought in English, such as those of Schumpeter and Haney. Some of the thinkers whose ideas are examined by Lipiński are, of course, familiar to students of Polish history but mostly for their role in political and religious development. Lipiński's book thus fills a much felt gap for historians of economic thought and also for students of East European history. The three main parts of the work are entitled "Polish Economic Thought in the Renaissance Period," "Mercantilist Elements in the Economic Literature of the Seventeenth Century," and "Polish Economic Thought in the Period of the Enlightenment."

Lipiński begins with the ideas of Jan Ostroróg, a link between medieval ideas and the world of emergent national states, and then devotes a chapter to Copernicus, a scientific economist in a prescientific age. Next follow a lengthy and valuable study of the social and economic thought of Modrzewski, better known in the West for his political and religious views, and a chapter dealing with the economic ideas of the gentry in the literature of the Polish renaissance. A study of Stanisław Orzechowski as a representative of feudal reaction is contrasted by chapters on Petrycy and Klonowicz as representatives of economic ideas associated with the nascent commercial civilization of the towns.

Part II includes studies of mercantilism in the economic ideas of the Polish gentry in the seventeenth century and of the growth of a town economy and a discussion of Bullionism in the writings of Cikowski, Gostkowski, Zaremba, Grod-wagner, and Starowski. There is also an interesting chapter on Fredro as ideologist of an emergent industrial culture.

Part III, perhaps the most interesting for the non-Polish specialist, deals with the development of ideas of economic reform analogous to those for political reform which culminated in the ill-fated Constitution of May 3, 1791. Polish economic thought is linked with Western thought in a chapter on Physiocrat ideas in Poland, and the interconnection of economic thought and public policy is shown in chapters on the financial reforms of Augustus III, on Kołłataj's theory of value, and on the growth of protectionist ideas.

As is to be expected in Communist Poland, Lipiński emphasizes those thinkers whose ideas can be linked plausibly and closely with the changing relations of production such as were brought about by the growth of towns based on commerce and industry in a feudalistic, gentry-dominated society. He stresses the sociology of knowledge approach, however, less than would have been expected and has produced a book which can stand on its own merits. There is a very useful bibliog-

raphy, marred however by minor errors in the citation of English and American authors.

University of Rochester

J. TAYLOR

REWRITING RUSSIAN HISTORY: SOVIET INTERPRETATIONS OF RUSSIA'S PAST. Edited by *C. E. Black*. [Studies of the Research Program on the U.S.S.R., Number 16; Praeger Publications in Russian History and World Communism, Number 36.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger for the Research Program on the U.S.S.R. 1956. Pp. xv, 413. \$7.50.)

THE rewriting of history in Soviet Russia has been treated in a fairly large number of articles published both in this country and in Europe, but as far as I know this symposium is the first full-sized book on the subject. Unlike some of the previous studies, which concentrated on Soviet revolutionary and party history, the present volume deals primarily with the attempts of Soviet scholars to reinterpret Russia's prerevolutionary past. It should be noted also that it is the result of a collaboration of some American historians with a few former Soviet scholars now living in this country.

As is made clear in the editor's informative introductory essay, the pressure exercised upon the Soviet historians has been of a double nature: they were expected to conform with the Marxist dogma, in its official interpretation, and they had to serve the more immediate political needs of the ruling party. Of these two kinds of pressure, the latter has been of far greater importance. It is not accidental that the essays dealing with this aspect of the problem constitute the bulk of the book and, in my opinion, are the most interesting ones. One can hardly blame Leo Yaresh, the author of chapters II and III, for not being able to infuse much life into the singularly barren discussion of the periodization of Russian history in which Soviet historians have been involved for years without having reached any meaningful results. Equally unproductive has been the discussion of the role of the individual in history.

Part II of the book is entitled "The Application of Theory." Among the "selected examples," six out of eight fall within the period before the middle of the nineteenth century. Strictly speaking, only some of them involve "theory" to any considerable extent; much more prominent is the influence of the party political line. It was the Stalin brand of nationalism and anti-Westernism that made it necessary for Soviet historians to overemphasize the autochthonous elements of the first Russian state, to minimize Byzantine influences in Russian cultural development, and to overrate the role of the guerilla warfare in the campaign of 1812. The same factor, combined with the desire of the regime to justify its own dictatorial nature, led to the enforced glorification of Ivan the Terrible and, somewhat less emphatically, of Peter the Great. Likewise, the amazing changes in the interpretation of Russian imperial expansion, which from an absolute evil became

a lesser evil and then an absolute good, were dictated by purely political considerations.

The last two essays of the symposium stand somewhat apart from the rest. The first deals with the controversy provoked by the attempts to find native sources of Bolshevism in Bakunin and the so-called Russian Jacobins. In this case, those Soviet historians who took part in the discussion (mostly party members) were caught between a desire to find respectable ancestors for themselves and the pangs of their Marxist conscience. The last essay is a careful study of the "Allied and American Intervention in Russia," both as a subject for more or less scholarly discussion in Soviet historical literature of the 1920's and as a weapon of anti-Western propaganda in the Stalinist period.

Harvard University

MICHAEL KARPOVICH

VON BAKUNIN ZU LENIN. Volume I. By *Peter Scheibert*. [Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1956. Pp. xii, 344.)

THIS first volume of a projected three-volume study traces the development of Russian revolutionary thought from 1825 to about 1850. Scheibert's first volume is a substantial and impressive contribution to the growing but still extremely inadequate Western literature on Russian intellectual history. Scheibert's method relies heavily on biography, analysis of texts, and tracing of affiliation of ideas. Primary sources and monographs by Russian, German, English, French, and other scholars are skillfully used. The plan of the book is chronological. Essentially, it consists of a series of individual biographical and intellectual-historical studies of Herzen, Bakunin, Belinski, and others, including the odd but fascinating Pecherin, who, according to Scheibert, was the first Russian sent to Berlin to study who came under the influence of Western political thought.

Scheibert seeks to convey his interpretations mainly through biographical analysis. He is conscious of sociological factors, although on the sociological level the framework of analysis is more implicit than explicit. The emphasis is more moralistic than sociological. Scheibert, an avowed conservative, seeks both to describe and to pass judgment upon Russian utopianism. Undoubtedly he has been deeply influenced by a religiously grounded rejection of eighteenth-century rationalism, of which he regards the nineteenth-century Russian radical thinkers as the most extreme exponents. His judgments will inevitably be criticized by readers more sympathetic than he with the subjects of his investigation.

One need not, however, share Scheibert's conservative bias, which he candidly proclaims, to agree with much of his interpretation. On the whole, his attitude toward the doctrines of Herzen and Bakunin, for example, does not differ much from that of some liberal English and American historians. Like the latter, he stresses the lack of practical life experience of the Russian thinkers and their excessive dependence on theory, the inability of most nineteenth-century Russian

intellectuals to understand Western political and legal institutions, and their strong tendencies toward irresponsibility and fanaticism. While less harsh in his judgment of the autocracy than of the radicals, Scheibert points to many of its errors. He is too harsh in his judgment of Herzen, whose relative liberalism he underestimates.

Although often controversial, this book is always stimulating; it is the product of deep study and reflection and of truly staggering labor. All students of Russian intellectual history will profit by reading it carefully.

Yale University

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN

LENIN ON TRADE UNIONS AND REVOLUTION, 1893-1917. By *Thomas Taylor Hammond*. [Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 155. \$3.50.)

Just as historians of the French Revolution traditionally aligned themselves with either the "school of the plot" or the "school of circumstances," students of Lenin and of the Bolshevik movement have had to choose, or at least wrestle with, two sharply opposed views of the development of Bolshevism. The first generally emphasizes the importance of ideological dogmas in the determination of Bolshevik conduct and consequently tends to regard these dogmas as a consistent and stable complex; the other view stresses the importance of the changing conditions and circumstances to which the Bolsheviks adapted in their long struggle to seize and hold the reins of power. From the first view, Lenin usually emerges as the author of a relatively rigid corpus of revolutionary theory, or at least as the master of a clearly defined code of revolutionary action; from the other he emerges chiefly a revolutionary politician, unwaveringly pursuing certain revolutionary objectives, to be sure, but continuously shaping and reshaping his views in response to the ebbs and floods of changing historical situations. In the past forty years, these alternative views have been presented with varying degrees of skill and in a variety of conceptual languages. Many an effort has been made to strike some sort of balance between them, but the central issue they pose is likely to remain alive for a considerable time to come, for it involves nothing less than the relative importance of the role of man's ideas in history.

Professor Hammond's monograph is devoted to but one specific aspect of this general problem, to an examination and evaluation of the development of Lenin's ideas (as presented in his writings up to 1917) about the role and significance of trade unions under capitalism. The topic may seem rather narrow, but, as Hammond's analysis unfolds, it legitimately encompasses issues that are quite central in the development of Bolshevik thought: the question whether the pursuit of economic and/or political reforms tends to promote or hinder the realization of the ultimate objective of socialist revolution; the related problem of the proper organizational relationship between the party and trade unions, and more broadly

between the party and the masses of the proletariat; and the fundamental problem of whether, under the impress of capitalist conditions, the proletariat is capable of arriving independently at "socialist consciousness."

Hammond properly stresses the importance of these questions and recognizes their interdependence. His answers, while occasionally long-winded, duly take into account the subtleties, the occasional contradictions, and the actual shifts in Lenin's views. Underlying these qualities of his treatment is the implicit recognition of the many facets of Lenin's role: Lenin the convinced ideologist, earnestly seeking to draw the proper deductions from the body of doctrine in which he believed; Lenin the politician, skillfully adapting his course to changing political conditions; Lenin the agitator, deliberately distorting and simplifying issues in his efforts to make friends and influence people.

Unfortunately, the very nature of Hammond's answers is apt to leave many of his readers with a sense of dissatisfaction—or more precisely a sense of incompleteness—about the limits within which his inquiry has been largely confined. These answers consistently bring into sharp relief the piecemeal character of the development of Lenin's views, the contradictions and the actual shifts in these views produced by changing environmental situations and pressures. Yet the author has restricted his purview almost entirely to an examination of Lenin's writings—a limitation that would seem to this reader justified only if he felt these writings represented a body of systematic theory that had developed along certain over-all logical lines, independently of changing historical circumstances. This Hammond rightly does not believe, and the specific weaknesses of his monograph stem directly from the contradiction between the implications of his conclusions and the scope of his treatment. For example, the chapter sequence of the monograph is largely organized in a chronological, rather than in a systematic, order; yet the background of events that would give this order its meaning is treated in the most cursory fashion. In short, Hammond's monograph provides a more than adequate description of Lenin's views on trade unions and, on the whole, intelligently relates these views to other aspects of Lenin's outlook, but, by virtue of its scope, it does not—and cannot—adequately explore the character of the forces by which these views were shaped.

University of Chicago

LEOPOLD H. HAIMSON

Far Eastern History

A HISTORY OF COMMUNISM IN EAST ASIA. By *Malcolm Kennedy*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1957. Pp. ix, 556. \$8.50.)

THIS book, written by a veteran observer, attempts to outline the main events and recent developments in South and East Asia during the past hundred years or so, to indicate how and why they have occurred, and to set them within the frame-

work of world events in general and Moscow plans for world revolution in particular. It is not a sharply focused history of communism in East Asia as its title suggests, nor is it a detailed work of reference in the manner of the studies of E. H. Carr, Robert North, Benjamin Schwartz, Paul Langer and Roger Swearingen, and Bernard Fall. The effort to interpret a century of the revolutionary history of South and East Asia with the comparatively recent manifestation of communism as its central theme raises some difficult questions. Is communism not placed in a central position, when major importance might better be given to nationalism, colonialism, socialism, or some other factor? Was nationalism a prelude to communism, or is communism an annoying aberration in the progress of nationalism? Who is using whom?

Some national leaders, like Quezon in the Philippines, might have appropriated communist slogans or paralleled communist techniques while holding communists themselves in utter contempt. Some socialist trends might have taken an increasingly leftist complexion and finally blossomed out into full-blooded communism, but some socialist leaders, such as Sjahrir in Indonesia, preferred to let their programs wither on the vine rather than accept coalition with the communists.

The author has little use for Russia or for the communists. In his opinion, Moscow is now more imperialist than any other country ever was, and its pledges are completely worthless; the Comintern and the Cominform were "exclusively the instrument and mouthpiece of the Russian state"; and tactics of violence and peaceful coexistence in Asia as elsewhere are zigzags on the road to revolution. With regard to China he states that Li Li-san's removal in 1931 marked the virtual end of the CCP's career on strictly orthodox lines, and he accepts Mao's assertion that the drive toward ideological unity owed nothing to any direction from the outside.

Captain Kennedy has written rather more about revolution in Asia than he has of communism in Asia. His mass of details about nationalist deviations among communists in most Asian countries, about quarrels and factionalism among the leaders, and about vacillation, bungling, and stupidity on the part of ordinarily dreaded names modifies stereotyped concepts of the communist monolith, timetable, and genius.

Manila, Philippine Islands

CLAUDE A. BUSS

SOUTHEAST ASIA AMONG THE WORLD POWERS. By *Amry Vandenbosch* and *Richard A. Butwell*. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 336. \$6.00.)

THIS book will contribute substantially to American understanding of the complex situation in Southeast Asia. The initial chapter describes the general characteristics of the region, its peoples and resources, and its traditional status as a "low pressure" area culturally and politically. Discussions of conditions within the

six component countries, based in part on recent personal observation, are followed by concluding chapters on international relations in general and United States foreign policy in particular. The tone of the book is realistic, sometimes pessimistic. The authors question whether the area possesses sufficient economic strength to survive, except on the sufferance of the powers.

The individual chapters devoted to the six countries vary considerably in depth of perception. The accounts of Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines are clarifying and command respectful attention. The other three are less adequate. Premier Ngo Dinh Djem's problems and accomplishments since 1954 are explained, but an appreciation of the political dynamics of the situation is lacking. Cambodia and Laos are discussed only briefly and north Vietnam not at all. The authors fail to perceive the importance of continued acceptance by the Thai people of the symbols of governmental authority, despite the chronic political feuding at Bangkok. Contrarywise in Burma the AFPFL coalition cannot be challenged politically, but the Rangoon government has thus far been unable to establish fully its authority among the people in the absence of traditional symbols. The authors overstress the seeming contradiction between socialism and Buddhism in Burma; the issue concerns foreign observers more than it does the Burmese. Estimates of the extent of Burmese economic progress in both production and land redistribution are considerably exaggerated. Premier Nu's political importance is not fully appreciated, and the picture of U Ba Swe is hardly recognizable.

But minor shortcomings within these chapters, almost inevitable where broad generalizations are hazarded, do not detract materially from the validity of the authors' analysis of the international relations of the area. The region's limited capacity for political and economic integration is explained as is the trend toward neutralism in the cold war. American policy receives searching criticism, particularly those aspects associated with Washington's preoccupation with the communist menace to the exclusion of local considerations. United States policy in Formosa finds little support outside the Philippines, while encouragement of Japan's rapid recovery is arousing an increasing measure of apprehension. Local distrust of United States methods and objectives stems from Washington's overlong tolerance of unrepentant French colonialism, from repeated declarations concerning massive (nuclear) retaliation, and from American sponsorship of the largely non-Asian SEATO consultative alliance. Political rationalizations relevant to America's climate of opinion are usually not calculated to attract Southeast Asian confidence and cooperation. The authors believe that the problem of American diplomacy in the region is not quite hopeless, but they describe a situation far from reassuring.

Ohio University

JOHN F. CADY

THE LAST STAND OF CHINESE CONSERVATISM: THE T'UNG-CHIH RESTORATION, 1862-1874. By *Mary Clabaugh Wright*. [Stanford Studies in History, Economics, and Political Science, XIII.] (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1957. Pp. x, 426. \$7.50.)

THE reign of the Manchu emperor Mu Tsung, 1862-1874, generally known to Westerners as the T'ung-Chih Period, is one of the most crucial ages in modern Chinese history. The Confucian state had just warded off the most devastating rebellion in Chinese annals, and a galaxy of great statesmen, both Manchu and Chinese, cooperated in trying to return vigor and viability to the Chinese system. They faced the tremendous task of reviving the economy, local government, the recruitment system, broken communications and transport facilities, and political and military chains of command. Yet this was the very age in which the Western powers with superior developments in the use of nonhuman power were beginning to challenge the old Confucian order within China itself. Thus the tasks of the Restoration (*Chung-hsing*) included modifications and adjustments for an age when China could no longer maintain a splendid isolation for her people.

Professor Mary C. Wright has illuminated some of the remarkable achievements of the Restoration officials in coping with the complex problems they faced. Her book is the result of more than a decade of exhaustive and devoted research. It presents this important age with painstaking care and stimulating insight. She has made exhaustive use of the *Shih-lu* (Veritable Records) of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the *I-wu Shih-mo* (Management of Barbarian Affairs), the files of the *North China Herald*, and many other original sources. The result is a distinguished and definitive study which adds much luster to American scholarship on China.

In well-focused chapters Dr. Wright examines the background of the period, the problems faced, and then one by one the achievements, which she shows have been generally misunderstood. She characterizes the policy of the Restoration as "radical innovation within the old order," which was of a "piecemeal" nature. Her judiciously mustered evidence indicates that the T'ung-Chih Period brought remarkable developments in accommodating to and learning Western diplomacy. In the face of continuing local rebellions, natural disasters, and imperialist pressures the Chinese were able to rehabilitate the economy, reduce the size and improve the effectiveness of the armies, reestablish local control, and set China on the road to modernization and strength. Yet the Restoration failed. Dr. Wright's thesis is that this failure resulted from the inability of the Chinese social system to adapt itself to the demands of the modern world.

The book will prove difficult going for the non-China scholar, for it presumes rather intimate knowledge of modern Chinese history. To follow the discussion of the various rebellions, for example, the reader unfamiliar with them will probably have to consult some of the works listed in the notes to get a clear idea of the issues, campaigns, and problems involved. The notes, however, represent a bibli-

ographic treasure-trove presented in critical fashion. Again, there is only passing mention of the *li-chia* system of tax gathering, and only by consulting works listed in the notes would the reader unfamiliar with this aspect of local control have any idea of what was involved. Indeed, the operation of much of the Chinese state system—the censors, the Grand Council, etc.—is presented in a manner which presumes background knowledge. It is probable that this feature of the volume is the result of necessary cutting for publication, but it, like some of the interpretations with which issue can legitimately be taken, should not be allowed to obscure the fact that this is a distinguished piece of scholarship.

University of South Carolina

RICHARD L. WALKER

THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA. By V. P. Menon. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. 543. \$8.50.)

THIS monograph, the author's second in the subject field, analyzes events in India from September, 1939, to August, 1947. The first, *The Story of the Integration of the Indian States*, told of the consolidation of federal power after 1947 (see review in *AHR*, LXII [January, 1957], 396). The publisher's claim that this second book "will be recognized as the definitive account of the events leading up to the partition of India and the transfer of power from England" has merit, even though the author has disclaimed such distinction. As reforms secretary and constitutional adviser to the governor general, Menon played a key role in the historical process of which he writes. Mountbatten called him "one of the most statesmen-like minds I have ever encountered." George Abell, private secretary to the viceroy, once testified that he was "perhaps the biggest personal factor in our success." Menon's attitude is judicial, his presentation logical and direct, his style swift and compelling. If it is still too early for a definitive analysis, it is nevertheless unlikely that any comparable work will be produced by one who even approaches Menon in his detailed firsthand knowledge.

The book bears the same title as a 1954 study by E. W. R. Lumby, an India Office official on the 1947 Cabinet Mission staff. The London *Times* reviewer remarked of Lumby's effort: "This book has some odd characteristics. There is no bibliography; there are few references to sources; and the author frankly disclaims any firsthand knowledge of the country and its people. Yet, with all these apparent disadvantages, it remains the most balanced and objective account so far written of the negotiations leading up to the transfer of British power. . . ." How does Menon's work fare by comparison? It does have a bibliography of "works consulted," but the list is not impressive. One feels that it is intended to direct the general reader to other materials rather than support the text; Menon undoubtedly had access to a much larger range of sources than those listed. As in Lumby's study, internal references are lacking. While Lumby's remains useful, especially

for its light on the British viewpoint, Menon's work is more informed, thorough, and complete.

After two background chapters on Indian constitutional history and the failure of early plans for All-India Federation, the account follows, step by step, the course of Indian politics from the outbreak of war to the achievement of independence. The deadlock between the British and Congress, the Cripps Mission, the Simla Conference, the Cabinet Mission, the interim government, the partition plan, the birth of the two Dominions, the aftermath of partition—these and related topics form the framework of the story. A series of twelve appendixes provide key documentation.

The figure of Earl Mountbatten stands out as the commanding force in negotiations. His fabulous energy, patience, and skill were acclaimed by all parties. The residue of British good will in India today owes much to his genius. Combine this with the canny statesmanship of Menon, who authored the final successful formula, and you have the secret of agreement on the transfer of power. On the other hand, despite the author's dispassionate presentation, the reader inevitably is impressed with Jinnah's stubbornness and opportunism, with his repeated intimations of civil strife to force his demands. Without such single-mindedness Pakistan could hardly have been created, and Jinnah remains the hero of the "two-nation" theorists. Menon's exposition of the Gandhi and Jinnah viewpoints provides more insight into the problems of the period than volumes of journalistic speculation have given us.

The present work nicely supplements another firsthand account of independence negotiations, Alan Campbell-Johnson's *Mission with Mountbatten*. Although Menon's story lacks the penetrating personal observation and shrewd humor of the other, it has a much broader frame of reference and provides probably the most useful single source available on postwar British-India.

University of California, Santa Barbara

D. MACKENZIE BROWN

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN. Edited by S. M. *Ikram* and *Percival Spear*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 204. \$4.00.)
CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS IN PAKISTAN. By *Sir Ivor Jennings*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 378. \$7.50.)

The Cultural Heritage of Pakistan consists of chapters on various humanistic topics by twelve authors. It proceeds on the basic assumption that Pakistan's culture is Islamic and inherits from all the Islamic culture that has ever existed in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. Contributions from non-Islamic sources are not denied but are given little importance. The chief editor (S. M. Ikram) says in his introduction: "Much of the great heritage which Muslims bequeathed to the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent in architectural, social, religious, and cultural spheres, has,

after Partition, remained in Pakistan, but many of the architectural masterpieces of Muslim builders are in Delhi, Agra, Ahmadabad, and other places in India. However . . . it is certain that these achievements will be more honoured in Karachi, Lahore, Dacca, and Peshawar than in the old centres of Muslim culture and sovereignty." Further on he says: "What was once the cream of Muslim society in Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Hyderabad, and Calcutta is now to be found in Karachi, Lahore, Chittagong, and Dacca. . . . The common spiritual and cultural reservoir from which various languages of Pakistan were fed has given Pakistan literature a marked unity of thought and atmosphere." Hence he speaks of Pakistan's "unity of outlook," the aims and ideals of which he finds best described in the prose and poetical works of Iqbal. Throughout the book there is a marked tendency to make comparisons between Islamic culture and Hindu culture regularly in favor of the Islamic, and wherever possible to do so on the testimony of non-Muslims, especially Hindus, thus refuting any claims of the other side by their own words.

The topics treated are: a general characterization of the pattern of Pakistan's heritage, its archaeology, architecture, music, painting, calligraphy, minor arts, the Persian literary heritage, Urdu literature, the Muslim literatures in Bengali, Pushto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi, the spiritual heritage, and modern intellectual developments. Most of the chapters say little that is new, though it is convenient to have these treatments collected in a single volume. There appears to be a slight incongruity in treating the ancient Harappan civilization of the Indus valley (3rd-2nd millennium B.C.) as a contributor to Pakistan culture when otherwise so little attention is given to non-Islamic contributors. The chapters of most interest are likely to be those on literature, including the relatively full description of Iqbal's work, now coming to be known in Western countries. Of interest also are those on architecture and painting. The chapter on music is a disappointment; it names many musicians but does not tell us what distinguishes Islamic music in the sub-continent from other music there or from Islamic music in Western Muslim countries. The general picture of modern intellectual development is one of not very great vitality or relation to the needs of Pakistan as a nation trying to achieve a position in the modern world.

Constitutional Problems in Pakistan consists of a highly technical introductory discussion (76 pages) of important cases which developed in Pakistan after the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly on October 24, 1954, and full quotations of the opinions in those cases (294 pages). The author is a front-rank authority on British constitutional law and the constitutional law of all members of the Commonwealth. In addition to these premier qualifications for considering Pakistan's constitutional problems, he was formerly constitutional adviser to the government of Pakistan. His work is, therefore, authoritative as well as clearly presented. It is meant for students of constitutional law, with special reference to the Commonwealth, and in addition it will interest historians dealing with modern Asia.

In his introduction Sir Ivor gives the background leading up to the enactment by Parliament of the Indian Independence Act, 1947, the features of that Act pertaining to constitution-making in Pakistan, the failure of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to achieve a constitution, and the questions that arose concerning the powers of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly to pass acts and other legislation without the assent of the governor general, the powers of the provincial legislatures to pass legislation without the assent of the provincial governors, and many other aspects of the administration of Pakistan. "Legal chaos" was in sight in Pakistan in 1955. Two cases had gone against the government, and the rule of law was threatened. The third case, however, supported it by a decision relying on the doctrine of necessity. The opinions in these three cases, accompanied by that of a fourth case, which also refers to the doctrine of necessity, are those which Sir Ivor reproduces. To legal experts, the opinions presumably are of prime interest; to students of modern Asian history they record a drama of grave consequence to a young state.

University of Pennsylvania

W. NORMAN BROWN

American History

A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT SOUTHWEST. By *Harold Sterling Gladwin*. (Portland, Me.: Bond Wheelwright Company. 1957. Pp. xx, 383. \$8.50.)

For more than two generations, investigators have been poking into the Indian ruins of the Southwest, pot hunting, picking up arrowheads, obsidian, and sherds, or making serious studies. Many have done this for pleasure, others with the dedicated purpose of tracing the origins of civilization in this great area, extending from western Texas to California and from northern Mexico into Utah and Colorado. Of the scholars who excavated particular sites and wrote scientific reports on their own minute researches, none essayed a general history until the late Edgar L. Hewett published his *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* in 1930.

In the meantime, scholars continued to dig, to conjecture, and to write. One of these was Harold S. Gladwin, a businessman rather than archaeologist, who came to the Southwest in 1924 to devote his life and resources to a systematic program of archaeological study. After thirty years of intensive work, he has put the fruits of his research and thinking into this imaginative and comprehensive book, in which he has struck out with new ideas, in many respects wholly different and independent from older concepts of the development of Southwestern civilization.

Gladwin begins with the beginning. He believes there is a distinct possibility that man may have been in North America for a much longer time than has been generally accepted, that man may have come over from Asia during the last interglacial period, or about the time of settlement of some of the islands in the southwestern Pacific. On arrival in North America the people moved south, below the ice sheet, and as hunters and foragers settled in what we today call the Southwest.

Here they developed—the Basket Makers in the Four Corners, Foragers in South-eastern Arizona, and Cave Dwellers in southwestern New Mexico and western Texas.

At about A.D. 200, another people migrated from Asia and on reaching the northern fringe of the earlier immigrants settled in the Durango area of south-western Colorado as farmers, bringing with them eighteen-row corn, pottery, house-types, and other traits hitherto credited to the Basket Makers. Here they prospered for five hundred years, when they began to expand to the La Plata Valley, Mesa Verde, and southeastern Utah. The Basket Makers during this time were moving southward along the Chuska Mountains, establishing villages to the east, in Chaco Canyon, and to the west, at Chinlee, Jeddito Wash, Ganado, and elsewhere.

In the southern sector of the Southwest, a new people came in, about A.D. 500, called “Reds” by Gladwin, who may have come up from Mexico, along its east coast. They had eight-row corn, kidney beans, and circular houses. Mixing with earlier arrivals, they formed the Mogollon Culture, characterized by polished red-ware, rectilinear designs, and broad deformed skulls. In the basin of the Little Colorado, they met Basket Makers from the north, and the mixture of the two cultures spread over a wide area.

Another new cultural stream to invade the southern area and to settle in the Gila Basin was the Hohokam, which came up the west coast of Mexico, bringing knowledge of farming based on canal irrigation.

Into this complex social structure came a violent intrusion in the form of war-like and virile Athabascans toward the end of the tenth century. Coming down from the north along the eastern slope of the Rockies, they reached west Texas, and while some spread out into that area, others pushed westward, crossed the Rio Grande below Albuquerque, and set about to take over the land. These people, the Navajos and Apaches, had by 1250 occupied New Mexico from the Jemez River to the Zuñi and Chuska Mountains, and farther south had pushed into the Upper Gila country. Thus, by 1450, the Southwest had taken on the cultural complex it now knows. The Navajos had adopted new customs, becoming farmers, weavers, and silversmiths. The Apaches did less well, retaining a more primitive form of life.

While these changes took place, the Pueblos were able to “roll with the punch,” maintaining a social organization based on government by clan representatives, elected by the people. There were no chiefs, hierarchies, or dynasties—no class distinctions, no slave labor, no great state or religious buildings or monuments. Such is the gist of Gladwin’s thesis.

It will take time and study to test the theories of this author, some of which are both new and challenging, but which may well mark a forward step in understanding man’s life span in the Southwest. The book is fascinating, very well written, and lavishly illustrated.

The Bancroft Library

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

NEA: THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS—THE BUILDING OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION. By *Edgar B. Wesley*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. x, 419. \$5.00.)

THE publication of this volume is part of the celebration of the centennial year of the National Education Association. The book will be more enduring than any other product of that celebration except the magnificent building rising on Sixteenth and M Streets in the nation's capital. It fulfills the purpose of the association, but its place in the historical literature of education will rest on the fact that it is more than a history of the NEA. Professor Wesley has skillfully woven together the history of the association and the general development of American education. He has done what he asserts in the preface to have been his purpose, "reviewed the history of some aspects of American education in which the association played a prominent part." More than half the chapters would stand independently as valuable essays in the history of American education. A few "professionals" will deplore this emphasis, but some "academicians" will wish that it was even greater. Most readers will be grateful to the author that it is as it is.

To hundreds of thousands of active members of the National Education Association and many outside supporters, the volume will be justification for their faith. But also it should further the liberal education of the organization's critics. Those who fear it as a huge, "super-progressive" bureaucracy, controlling and perverting the public schools, should find new security in the steadfastness of purpose and common sense of most of its activities and leaders, as well as in the defeat of numerous proposals varying in the degree of their lunacy. Those who think it has not been sufficiently active in the improvement of instruction should study the contributions of the departments and other agencies to which this is the principal concern. Those who question whether it has done enough to advance the welfare of teachers should learn of developments along this line during the past quarter century.

The author's incisive, clear-cut, and independent treatment adds greatly to the work. His position is seldom in doubt. Writing of coeducation he says: "The very idea of establishing separate schools for girls and boys was educational fantasy and fiscal folly." Castigating reactionary critics, he declares: "With all their animus and influence [they] could not resubjugate children, repeal the laws of learning . . . reverse time or restore the past." He describes the relative neglect of prohibition by the association as "an instance of a clear-eyed perception of the distinction between public action and public education."

The National Education Association should be praised for having charged a historian with the responsibility of writing its centennial history and for having left him free of control and restrictions. The resulting volume is not a company history, but, broad in its conception and well balanced in execution, it will be of lasting value.

Duke University

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. Volume XIII, MARCH TO 7 OCTOBER 1788. Edited by *Julian P. Boyd*. *Mina R. Bryan*, Associate Editor. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1956. Pp. xxxi, 664. \$10.00.)

THIS substantial volume of 664 pages covers an apparently small cut of time, from March of 1788 to early October of the same year. These seven months are represented in the Ford edition of Jefferson's writings by approximately 45 pages and in the so-called "definitive" Lipscomb and Bergh edition by some 177 pages. This may help to suggest the radical impoverishment of materials offered in previous editions and, further, to lay bare the earlier editors' unforgivable habit of presenting documents to the reader in a raw state, without benefit of essential scholarly processing. None of the obscure correspondents were identified, for example, nor were the puzzling internal references systematically dignified by editorial comment. Thus, we have been enabled to make progress in understanding Jefferson and his times by the great scholarly undertaking of which this volume is an important part. The present volume creates for us the opportunity to define the quality and character of Jefferson's experience at the close of his fourth year's residence in Paris as American Minister.

Assembling one's first general impressions of the significance of the materials in Volume XIII is a difficult task because the riches are abundant and in many different veins. Of transcendent interest are the two historical axes that give thematic splendor to this volume—the events leading to the French Revolution of '89, and, across the Atlantic where Jefferson's heart and hope unfailingly attach, the progress of debate and decision about adopting the proposed new federal constitution.

Jefferson's interpretations of the coming of the French Revolution arise as quick on-the-spot impressions but inevitably end by searching deeply for the relevant underlying political principles, as may be illustrated by two examples. Jefferson grasped at once the significance of the arrest, on May 5, of Duval d'Éprémesnil and Goislart de Montsabert. On this and connected developments, Jefferson's letter to John Jay of May 23 is a remarkable political report for a contemporary observer, and an American at that. Parlement's ruling that the Estates-General, when convoked, should be constituted as it was in 1614 abolished forever the popularity of the Parlement and gave the revolutionary movement the nature of a "class war." This Jefferson saw, and our most up-to-date scholarship only serves to confirm his analysis. From his very first report on the 1614 form of constituting the Estates-General it is evident that he realized what was at issue.

The other great historical development, that leading to the adoption of the American Constitution, is the subject of anxious and minutely detailed communications from a host of Jefferson's American friends and political acquaintances. The substance of Jefferson's position had already been made clear in the preceding months; but the imperishable fact that the present volume establishes is Jefferson's moral courage as an independent political thinker who will not bow even

to his great friend Madison, nor temper his beliefs one iota to suit the position of his most distinguished correspondents. An element of human comedy lurks in this momentous story, for some of Jefferson's correspondents betray a pressing eagerness to enlist his name and reputation on their side, while Jefferson, remaining serenely true to his own position, pretends to be unaware of the propaganda zeal of his "valued" correspondents.

Perhaps the most interesting theoretical point to be gleaned from Jefferson's development on this issue is the clarification he offers (in a brilliant letter to Madison of July 31) of his reasons for believing that a bill of rights is necessary to complete the "good canvas" of the new constitution. What Jefferson makes clear is that he does not conceive of these fundamental "rights" as absolutes. The argument that because there always must be some proper exceptions to these general rules a bill of rights is inadvisable is scrutinized and rejected by Jefferson.

Of course, there are more everyday concerns reflected in this generous volume, such as Jefferson's official labors to broaden the scope of American trade with France, his continuing manifestation of a devouring interest in the classics and in the literary, fine, and architectual arts—in just that inclusive sweep. There is also fresh evidence that Jefferson's ideal of useful inventions is always allied with considerations of aesthetic functionalism. His first sketches for the famous mold-board plow were inspired by a note made on his journey from Strasbourg to Méaux: "The awkward figure of their mould board leads one to consider what should be its form." And far beyond the possibilities of mention are the new insights provided for us by some of the letters that have not hitherto been in general circulation. Consider only one, Jefferson's letter to Derieux, in which he refuses to become a sponsor for Derieux's child on the ground that he has been unable to accept the Doctrine of the Trinity "from a very early part of my life." This and the statement that "morality alone" is his ground for personal trust, while "the church requires faith," has much to do with Jefferson's philosophy of life.

Finally, it is necessary to call attention to an editorial innovation starting with this volume—the substitution of an alphabetical for a chronological table of contents. While a change at this advanced point in the series is awkward, it is an improvement that readers cannot fail to appreciate. But it opens old wounds over what remains the unchanged editorial plan of not indexing the individual volumes; readers must still filter through preliminary "throw away" indexes for groups of volumes until the series is completed with a comprehensive permanent index.

University of California, Berkeley

ADRIENNE KOCH

ALEXANDER HAMILTON AND THE FOUNDING OF THE NATION.

Edited by *Richard B. Morris*. (New York: Dial Press. 1957. Pp. xxi, 617. \$7.50.)

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, YOUTH TO MATURITY, 1755-1788. By

Broadus Mitchell. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. xvi, 675. \$8.75.)

UNTIL the 1930's Alexander Hamilton held an undisputed first place among the heroes of the late eighteenth century. One still remembers with what daring it was at first suggested that Andrew Mellon was as "great" a secretary of the treasury as Hamilton. And to assert that perhaps something could be said for Jefferson was to make one suspect of some vague form of radicalism. This changed with the 1930's and ever since Jefferson has held sway: in a memorial at the national capital, in biographies, and most notably, in the vast edition of his writings now under way. The wheel has turned once more, and Hamilton is emerging from an undeserved eclipse. Columbia University has undertaken a long-needed definitive publication of his writings. As a curtain raiser to this effort, Richard Morris has offered us a volume of Hamilton's writings, much of which have long been hard to come by and even then all too often in corrupt texts. The material in this volume is grouped in sections, some roughly chronological and some topical.

The book as a whole and the sections are prefaced with editorial introductions, the purpose of which is to praise Hamilton rather than to offer a critical evaluation of his role in the history of the times, and some extraordinary claims are made for his prophetic genius. Scholarly work on the period is either ignored or brushed aside if it conflicts with Hamilton's statements. The "dead rock" of public credit is struck still another blow with no indication of the fact that during the 1790's the credit of the government could be maintained only by increasing the national debt and at higher interest rates. The question raised by Joseph Charles as to whether Hamilton was really interested in or understood "sound finance" seems relevant here. Sometimes editorial comments do not square precisely with the documents, as in the comments on Hamilton and democracy. Nor is one of the last letters Hamilton ever wrote, in which he called democracy the "real disease" of the country, included. Nevertheless, if one leaves aside editorial adjectives and assumptions, the volume is a worth-while collection.

For years Broadus Mitchell has been working on a full-scale biography of Hamilton. One hundred and seventy-eight pages of notes in a 675-page volume are adequate testimony to the greatness of his labors. The notes cover a vast range of topics and materials concerning people, places, and events for the years covered. Particularly valuable are the chapters on the West Indian setting of Hamilton's boyhood and the last chapters on the ratification of the Constitution in New York. On the whole this is a work of devotion. Throughout, criticism is reluctant, praise is overabundant, and credit for achievement ranges beyond the probable or provable. Even when the author knows better, he would like to believe, as in the account which was told years afterward by one of Hamilton's friends of how he almost single-handedly brought about aid from France.

These are minor matters compared to the comments on the history of the times which any biographer must necessarily include. Thus the description of New York politics in the spring of 1774 is incomprehensible and written without reference to works such as Becker's. The explanation of why New York was slow to take part in the movement for independence is so generalized as to be meaningless. The explanation of why Hamilton became a revolutionist is more puzzling than revealing. Considerable detail is given on the imposts of 1781 and 1783 without any real discussion of the issues involved or of the significance of Robert Morris' plans. Although the demands of the public creditors at the same period and even the plan to unite the army and the creditors in overturning Congress are mentioned, the relevance of this to later events is ignored.

In discussing the background of the Constitution of 1787 Mitchell denies the "plot" thesis. No serious student of the period that I know of ever thought or said it was a "plot." The debate over the nature of a central government had been going on at least since 1774 in newspapers, pamphlets, state legislatures, and Congress. The issues were clear and in the open to the people of the times and to the student who makes the effort to read the sources. In fact, the word "plot" seems to be used only by those people who are disturbed by any evidence which conflicts with the official Federalist interpretation of the period. Mitchell goes even farther for he directly impugns the motives of those who have offered such evidence. He says: "Discredit of high political purposes of architects of the Constitution has led to attempts to rehabilitate the character of the Articles of Confederation and the record of the Continental Congress." Such remarks about scholars who have studied the period neither honor the subject of the biography nor illuminate the history of the times. And since Mitchell offers only assertions rather than evidence for his own views, his case remains to be proved.

His particular target, as is popular these days, is Charles A. Beard. But Mitchell is caught in the same dilemma that other writers are who deplore any "economic interpretation" of the Constitution, for he, like they, still offers an "economic interpretation." There is the usual reliance on the story of state trade barriers, a position that can be maintained only if one avoids reading the laws actually passed by the states. Mitchell on one page gives economic reasons for the need of a new government and on the next page denies them. Finally, after discussing economic classes in the United States, Mitchell says that "the more successful, whose fortune were as insidiously threatened by national governmental weakness as they were openly imperiled by agrarian rebellion, took the lead in framing the new Constitution." This, if I understand Beard, sums up Beard's point of view as neatly as he ever did.

The great men of the eighteenth century are dead now. The historian should at least try to assess their thoughts, feelings, and rival programs without carrying on their battles with all the emotional intensity that existed at the time. Alexander Hamilton was a great enough man that it should be unnecessary to claim for him

things he would not have claimed for himself; nor does it increase his stature to demean his contemporaries with whom he battled or the scholars since then who have shown that, as in all political campaigns, there are usually two sides to the story.

University of Wisconsin

MERRILL JENSEN

ALBERT GALLATIN: JEFFERSONIAN FINANCIER AND DIPLOMAT.

By *Raymond Walters, Jr.* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 461. \$7.00.)

THIS life of Gallatin is based on the first study that the great stock of Gallatin papers has had "in its entirety" since Henry Adams used it eighty years ago. It includes fresh material and information about personal concerns omitted by Henry Adams because he was dealing with Gallatin's public career only. It does not replace the Adams account—and probably none ever will—but it puts a Gallatin biography on the market again. It is a clear, comprehensive, sympathetic, and sober narration of a career far more important than is commonly recognized. It does something substantial to overcome a neglect of Gallatin which its author properly deplores.

Gallatin's career proceeded by such distinct stages, his positions were so clearly put contemporaneously, his public record was so spotless and his private life so undramatic, that there is little opening in it for controversy apart from the absorbing public issues in which he engaged, and there is no opening for sensation. (One may except his rascally great-grandson's fabrication of the delightful "diary of James Gallatin," which Mr. Walters disclosed in the July issue of this *Review* to be spurious and which he relegates in his book to a footnote.)

In his public record, moreover, Gallatin's diplomacy and ethnology have been examined and praised without dissent; it is only his participation in domestic policy that ranges into the controversial. And here Walters seems to me cavalier in the tone used toward the Federalists, and Hamilton particularly. In the period of Gallatin's opposition, he gives the Federalists the air of bigoted obstructionists merely; only later, when Gallatin has succeeded to Hamilton's responsibilities and the Federalists have degenerated into obstructionists in fact, does his tone become more respectful of their original accomplishments. He seems to see more inconsistency than wisdom in Gallatin's adoption of a Hamiltonian Treasury and to be less placable toward Federalism than Gallatin was himself. On the other hand, I find it reasonable to think that Gallatin might have been a better Federalist than Democrat had it not been for his adolescent susceptibility to the romanticism of Rousseau.

Walters repeats the familiar allegation that Nicholas Biddle provoked panic purposefully in 1834 and says that the research of later historians proves it. I know none that does. Professor W. B. Smith in his study of the Bank of the

United States does not, but Walters makes no mention of this and other recent works that touch informatively on Gallatin's part in the events of 1834, 1837, and 1839. Nor were Gallatin's monetary views a standard by which contemporaries of his may be comfortably condemned. He was "an ultra-bullionist," in his own words—an admitted extremist whose obsolescent dogmatism had made him break with his friend Alexander J. Dallas years before he broke with Biddle. His views were not Jacksonian, as Walters himself testifies, yet Walters presents them from a Jacksonian angle, with results that distort Gallatin's position as well as Biddle's.

Walters calls Gallatin "Swiss-born." But Gallatin's birthplace was Geneva when it was still a republic, more than half a century before it joined the *Confédération Helvétique* and became a part of Switzerland. By birth Gallatin was simply Genevan. In America this made him "foreign," however, and Walters emphasizes the likelihood that it spared him from the state loyalties that complicated acceptance of the federal union for so many born Americans. The same was true for Hamilton. But Gallatin's foreign birth stimulated enmities within his own party more injurious than those suffered from outside it. Jefferson, loyal to Gallatin without being very effective, is presented favorably in the main by Walters, who, however, adheres to a low opinion of Madison. It is gratifying that Gallatin long survived his crucifixion by the Democrats to distinguish himself in diplomacy, banking, scholarship, and a superior union of rare intelligence with nobility of character.

Thetford, Vermont

BRAY HAMMOND

THE LAW OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND CHIEF JUSTICE SHAW.

By *Leonard W. Levy*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1957. Pp. viii, 383. \$6.50.)

THOUGH somewhat repetitious, this book deserves to be attentively read. It gives substance to the surmise that not all state judges during the nineteenth century belonged to the school of Kent. Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice of Massachusetts from 1830 to 1860, disagreed with Kent in divers ways, and that disagreement produced some significant effects upon the evolution of the law. Levy, a liberal in the current sense of the word, seems drawn to Shaw because in the main he believes those effects to be wholesome.

In *Commonwealth v. Alger*, for example, Shaw handed down a sweeping decision in favor of the police power against private property. The case involved a defendant who had built a wharf projecting into Boston harbor beyond limits prescribed by statute. He had begun the wharf before the statute was enacted and had done so pursuant to an official grant encouraging riparian owners to build wharves in that locality. Thus a contract between him and the state seemed implied. Furthermore the state itself conceded that his wharf nowise hindered navigation. These considerations notwithstanding Shaw denied him relief. The

opposite of Kent, Shaw had a predilection for the public convenience even if the private right at issue could not be proved to be a public inconvenience.

For thirty years, says Levy, Shaw consistently expressed this predilection. He adds that thirty years later this bent would seem socialistic in its implications and would be politely ignored until with Holmes and Brandeis it would again come into its own. Shaw is thus revealed as a prophet, a prophet, too, in still other ways. The sympathy of liberal modern judges with the ambitions of organized labor is foreshadowed in the decision of *Commonwealth v. Hunt*. This decision Levy hails as an impressive precedent for the closed shop.

The author stops short of praising Shaw indiscriminately. He dislikes his application of the fellow servant rule in *Farwell v. Boston and Worcester Railroad*. He is unhappy about the chief justice's bias in favor of railroads generally whether against employees or passengers and shippers. He blames him for sustaining the conviction of Abner Kneeland for blasphemy and for upholding the power of the authorities in Boston to enforce racial segregation in the schools. In connection with that case, Levy reserves his praise for the Negroes' attorney, Charles Sumner who, says he, "was to become New England's greatest Senator. . . ."

Other dubious and dogmatic statements occur within these pages and worse blemishes appear. Fastidious readers will be irritated at certain turns of phrase which do violence to English idiom. Readers of Mrs. Bowen will be disappointed that the book begins as a biography but soon turns into a series of legal essays, that Shaw the man has by design been left to the old biography by Chase. Unwary readers may form an exaggerated idea of Shaw's importance in comparison with other judges whose labors also contributed to the adaptation of the English common law to American circumstances.

University of Buffalo

JOHN T. HORTON

REVIVALISM AND SOCIAL REFORM IN MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA. By *Timothy L. Smith*. (New York: Abingdon Press. 1957. Pp. 253. \$4.00.)

THE present trend in historiography toward social, cultural, and intellectual history has brought out of the obscurity to which a preoccupation with political and economic considerations had consigned it the importance of religion, Protestant and evangelical, in American history. A decade ago Max Savelle's excellent book on American culture in the eighteenth century, *Seeds of Liberty*, stated: "There probably never was a century . . . in the entire history of western civilization when the deeply felt religion of the average man was as powerful a determinant of human history as in the seventeenth century"; a chapter of sixty-five pages followed, showing the continuing importance of religion in pre-Revolutionary America. Social historians have, of late, discovered with delight the zest and

optimism of the revivals, cults, utopias, reforms, and perfectionist beliefs of the early nineteenth century. Now Mr. Timothy L. Smith has extended the period for this emphasis upon religion into the mid-century, crossing the watershed of the Civil War and indicating the part played by religion in the social attitudes and activities of Americans in the rest of the century.

Revivalism and Social Reform is an interesting and important book which will be of great value to those of the profession who work in the field of cultural history and to the students with whom they work. It has so many merits that one hesitates in choosing those to mention. The book is well planned and written with clarity and precision, so that its purpose and accomplishments are apparent; it is decidedly readable and interesting in style and content. The author has had both historical and theological training and has a wide knowledge of the history and the doctrine of his own and other Protestant churches and of the part played by their clergy in the social movements of their times.

Smith quietly and firmly leads us away from the usual preoccupation with frontier revivalism and the pleasant investigation of pre-Civil War cults and reforms to what is more basic—the religion of the average American of the mid-century and its effect on his participation in social reform. As the century progressed the country became more urbanized, and city churches and their ministers became more involved in the evangelical and reform movements of the period than did those of the rural and frontier areas. Smith's evidence shows clearly that, after the 1830's, the cities of the northeastern part of the country were the scene of the welding together of evangelical religion, perfectionism and belief in progress, and social reform.

At the same time the author has been able, as no previous American social historian has been, to indicate the importance in the history of revivalism and reform of the doctrinal positions and conflicts of the churches and churchmen involved. The impetus given to social reform by revivalism has long been recognized, but here for the first time, so far as I know, is a sympathetic and comprehensive account of the doctrinal and regional conflicts within the churches that affected their attitudes toward reform. Perfectionism and millennialism were part of the belief of many churches, but few historians have noted the divisive effect of the doctrine of sanctification, current in the period, which was so important in the minds and hearts of many men and women that they placed personal perfection before social reform, if, indeed, social problems needed to be considered at all apart from the normal reactions of sanctified men and women.

It has been a habit of social historians to permit the slavery controversy to engulf all religious and reform matters after 1850. I know of no other book in which the revival of 1858, the doctrinal divisions in American churches in respect to revivalism, and church participation in reform movements have been so clearly presented. The conflict between the deeply felt need for church unity and authority and the Northern opposition to slavery is a case in point. In short, this

book is more than an item in religious or church history, it is a notable contribution to the history of American culture. The notes indicate an almost incredible research in religious magazines, devotional tracts, sermons, memoirs, contemporary propaganda, etc., and the bibliography is invaluable both for contemporary and for recent material.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

CONGRESSMAN ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By *Donald W. Riddle*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1957. Pp. vii, 280. \$4.50.)

DURING his first six weeks in Congress, according to Professor Riddle, Abraham Lincoln took partisan advantage of the Mexican War issue, tortured language, did not act upon principle, "deliberately intended to mislead," and "used arguments unworthy of a responsible public man." This is not the Lincoln of legend, the Lincoln of the February 12 addresses, or the Lincoln many historians think they know. Yet Riddle's documentation is impressive, and Congressman Lincoln's defenders must do some industrious digging in (and appraising of) the record to make the lone Illinois Whig resemble in all ways the sixteenth President.

The fact is that Lincoln grew tremendously between 1848 and 1865, and we largely judge Lincoln on the basis of his presidency rather than on limited sections of his early career. Especially revealing in this book is the degree to which various aspects of Lincoln's ability and personality developed prior to his fortieth birthday. Occasionally, the reader catches glimpses of an old friend—when a journalist remarks, "Evidently there is music in that very tall Mr. Lincoln," or when the Illinoisan keeps the House "in a continuous roar of merriment." Industrious during his single term, Lincoln "cheerfully ran errands for constituents" and was a moderate on the slavery question. Faithful in committee assignments and an active participant in debate, he never "skulked" a vote on touchy issues, missed few roll calls, and appealed effectively on behalf of his party's presidential nominee. His term over, he had the refusal of the General Land Office commissionership and Oregon Territory's governorship. Not insignificant recognition, this, for a newcomer on the national stage.

There can be no doubt that the author diligently combed all major repositories of pertinent Lincolniana. Outstanding are his contributions to nuances of the Butterfield-Lincoln contest and his analyses of Texas and Illinois sources with reference to the Spot Resolutions. Aside from infrequent typographical flaws, the only possible ground for adverse criticism lies in the area of interpretation. It is debatable, for example, whether Thomas L. Harris could have carried Lincoln's district in 1848 if the Whig nominee had been someone other than "queer, eccentric" Stephen T. Logan. With his thorough research in primary materials, his inclusion of illuminating fugitive items, and his skill in relating the congressional

period to the totality of Lincoln's public service, Riddle has produced a valuable volume—not "just another Lincoln book."

University of Kentucky

HOLMAN HAMILTON

MIGHTY STONEWALL. By *Frank E. Vandiver*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 547. \$6.50.)

GUNNER WITH STONEWALL: REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM THOMAS POAGUE. Edited by *Monroe F. Cockrell*. With an introduction by *Bell Irvin Wiley*. (Jackson, Tenn.: McCowat-Mercer Press. 1957. Pp. xxii, 181. \$5.95.)

SOLDIER IN THE WEST: THE CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF ALFRED LACEY HOUGH. Edited by *Robert G. Athearn*. With an introduction by *John Newbold Hough*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. 250. \$5.00.)

LINCOLN'S COMMANDO: THE BIOGRAPHY OF COMMANDER W. B. CUSHING, U.S.N. By *Ralph J. Roske* and *Charles Van Doren*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. x, 310. \$4.50.)

Civil War military history continues popular with the reading public, and from time to time amid the spate of books produced to meet the demand volumes of solid historical interest appear. Of the four books here under review three at least afford fresh historical knowledge.

Frank E. Vandiver has written a more complete and more critical biography of Stonewall Jackson than Colonel G. F. R. Henderson's classic study. Devoting seven of his nineteen chapters to events before the Civil War, he reduces Jackson's personal eccentricities to proper proportions and shows that the future hero of the Valley was in many ways an ordinary individual who could on occasion be markedly unheroic. For example, while stationed at Fort Meade during the army's Florida campaign of 1850-1851 Brevet Major Jackson quarreled with his commanding officer and even brought against him official charges of adultery, based, it would seem, largely upon camp gossip. Jackson contended that Christian duty left him no choice in the matter. The episode, related in detail by Vandiver, foreshadows the later virulent quarrels with fellow officers that marred Jackson's career as a commander in the Army of Northern Virginia.

The major portion of the book deals with the Civil War battles that made Jackson internationally famous, and these the author describes with vigor and insight and a talent for conveying the action and excitement of combat. He suggests, as did Douglas Southall Freeman in *Lee's Lieutenants*, that Jackson's strange lack of initiative at White Oak Swamp during the Seven Days was the result of physical exhaustion. Jackson's other mysterious halt at Grapevine Bridge he explains by calling attention to an overlooked military dispatch which indicates

that Stonewall was simply obeying orders. His over-all conclusion is that despite occasional failings Jackson well deserves his reputation as a military genius.

It would be easier to follow the battle narrative had better maps been provided, but the maps are lacking in essential place names and in notation of the scale of miles. The author's research embraces several score manuscript collections and great numbers of diaries, journals, and printed sources, used with discrimination. Missing from the bibliography are the extensive collections of papers catalogued in various Southern depositories under the name of General D. H. Hill, Jackson's brother-in-law, military associate, and close friend. This is an impressive achievement in biography and merits a place beside Freeman and Henderson on the Civil War bookshelf.

Monroe F. Cockrell provides in the reminiscences of Lieutenant Colonel William Thomas Poague a lively and useful new source on the battles in the eastern theater and the Confederate commanders who fought them. As a captain commanding the Rockbridge Artillery under Jackson, Poague took part in Stonewall's famous campaigns and after Jackson's death remained in the Army of Northern Virginia through Gettysburg, the Wilderness fighting, and the surrender at Appomattox. His memoirs, written for his children, contain realistic accounts of army life, including some good soldier anecdotes, and revealing glimpses of Jackson, Lee, the two Hills, Longstreet, and other generals. More important, as Bell Irvin Wiley points out in his introduction to the book, Poague sheds light on a somewhat neglected aspect of the Civil War, the role of the artillery in combat.

Like Cockrell, Robert G. Athearn has made good use of long-unpublished family documents in editing the Civil War letters of Alfred Lacey Hough, a Philadelphia commission merchant who served with the Union armies in Tennessee and Georgia, rising in rank from sergeant to brevet lieutenant colonel and occupying such posts as commissary of musters for the Army of the Cumberland and staff officer first to General James S. Negley and later to General George H. Thomas. Hough's letters contain on-the-spot accounts of staff activities behind the lines and give information on some important battles, e.g., Chickamauga. The editor has provided additional battle details from Hough's later memoirs and other family documents. There is an interesting introduction to Alfred Hough and his forebears by his grandson, John Newbold Hough.

Ralph J. Roske and Charles Van Doren in their undocumented biography of the Union naval hero Commander William B. Cushing seem to have aimed at the general reader rather than the professional historian. Cushing, who won national fame and a presidential commendation from Abraham Lincoln for blowing up the Confederate ram *Albemarle* at Plymouth, North Carolina, on October 27, 1864, lived a life of reckless daring in the Civil War, and from his exploits the authors have constructed a well-written adventure story based apparently upon the factual sources.

University of Colorado

HAL BRIDGES

JAY GOULD: HIS BUSINESS CAREER, 1867-1892. By *Julius Grodinsky*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1957. Pp. 627. \$10.00.)

JULIUS Grodinsky is a member of the historical guild only incidentally. A professor of finance in one of the nation's leading business schools, he writes history because he is interested in the development of investment; in business circles he is known as a successful investor himself. Professor Grodinsky's background is mentioned because it explains the story of Jay Gould that he has written. It explains what the book is, and is not. As Grodinsky says, the book is not a biography. It is instead an account of an investor and speculator. What came before and what came after Gould's speculations are no concern of the author. Nor is the book a rounded history of a part of the times, not even of the business history of the era.

As any elementary history student can tell you, Gould's business period, 1867 to 1892, coincides with the golden age of unregulated free enterprise—the Heroic Age, they call it nowadays. Although a host of giants, including John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and Philip Armour, all on the march to power and a new business and social order, stamp through this period, you will not meet them here, unless, of course, they tangled with Jay Gould along the roadside. Instead, you will encounter a concentrated and enormously detailed picture of Jay Gould—his purposed vagueness, his alternating charm and cold-bloodedness, his optimism and gloominess, his every word and mood fashioned, so it seems, with an eye on the dollar sign.

Gould was fabulously successful. Grodinsky reveals that he could be just as fabulously unsuccessful too. And while even generals rest now and then, Gould apparently never did. An opponent trimmed him, but while the opponent celebrated or consolidated, Gould was counter-attacking. He had a truly marvelous facility for corrupting corruptible judges, so that if he lost in the directors' meeting, he won at the bench. He rigged, he depressed, and he connived—but he was almost always within the letter of the law, and his facts were invariably straight.

One of Grodinsky's principal points is that while Gould was right as to facts, he was often wrong as to the truth. The author's conclusion is subject to the same criticism, by this reviewer. Admitting Gould's callousness toward rules and the human tragedy befalling people in his toils, Grodinsky nonetheless suggests that Gould was a long-range benefactor, because he unloosed a flood of speculative capital in the later nineteenth century and because he built thousands of miles of track, especially in the Southwest. There is no questioning the facts—Grodinsky has obviously delved widely and deeply in materials pertaining to Gould—but some will question the truth here. The truth is that Gould never distinguished between his personal finances and his railroads' treasuries, he welshed on obligations, and he led his companies through the primroses into such difficulties that it required decades for some of them to extricate themselves. Is this public bene-

faction? If so, it leaves old Uncle Dan'l Drew as the next man eligible for a halo.

But this disagreement over conclusions should not obscure another truth—that here is an important book, carefully and comprehensively done. At times the sentence structure is unique, and the author has the disquieting habit of introducing the cast without identification, or even first names. Despite these quibbles, the book compels and illumines; it is a valuable addition to the literature of American business leaders.

University of Texas

JOE B. FRANTZ

LOWDEN OF ILLINOIS: THE LIFE OF FRANK O. LOWDEN. Volume I, CITY AND STATE; Volume II, NATION AND COUNTRYSIDE. By *William T. Hutchinson*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 381; vii, 383-767. \$15.00 the set.)

This unabridged biography of Frank O. Lowden provides the reader with an intimate glimpse into three aspects of twentieth-century American life—big business, agriculture, and politics. The first part of the Lowden story repeats the familiar Horatio Alger theme of a poor country boy who went to the city and through grit, determination, and luck found wealth and position. To cap the climax, Lowden, as a rising young lawyer with his feet already firmly planted on the business escalator, married the daughter of George M. Pullman, the sleeping-car magnate. Throughout his subsequent life Lowden was beset by many vexing problems, but lack of money was never one of them.

Oddly enough Lowden in mid-career turned his principal interest away from big business to big agriculture. As a gentleman farmer well versed in scientific lore, he operated three great estates, Sinnissippi in Illinois, South Bend and Florenden in Arkansas. He thus acquired an intimate familiarity with the agricultural problems of both the Middle West and the South. An aggressive defender of free enterprise, he came to realize during the 1920's that American agriculture, without governmental intervention, must carry on at a perilous disadvantage. He thus emerged as the farmers' friend, even to the extent of championing valiantly the equalization fee. Whether over the years his agricultural projects paid out or not is a problem in accounting that Professor Hutchinson does not undertake to solve, but certainly Lowden came to comprehend fully the ragged-edge psychology that overwhelmed American farmers soon after World War I and lasted indefinitely.

Something of a bigamist already in his devotion to both business and agriculture, Lowden had a third love in politics. He spent five years in Congress, 1906-1911, two years in the governor's chair, 1917-1919, and twice, in 1920 and in 1928, he was an active candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. Politically, his wealth proved to be a great disadvantage. He was always vulnerable to attack as Pullman's son-in-law, and even his deep sympathy for the farmer,

which colored his whole political outlook, tended to carry a heavy discount because his suffering was strictly vicarious. It is probably easier for a really rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven than to become President of the United States.

Hutchinson's biography draws on an incredible wealth of material, including Lowden's correspondence, Mrs. Lowden's diary, and the "extraordinarily large mass of source materials" Lowden left behind. It is fully documented throughout, with footnotes at the bottom of the page where they ought to be. The work is properly described as a "life" rather than as a "life and times," although on the subject of agriculture, particularly during the 1920's, the "times" come through convincingly. Possibly Lowden himself never fully understood the intricacies of the corporation world in which he operated, and his limitations are reflected rather than transcended in the biography. In the game of politics he was a clumsy player who might occasionally hit the jack pot but ordinarily lost his shirt. It was a pity that this was so. His intelligence, integrity, and administrative ability would have graced the White House in the 1920's, and they might have done something toward softening the blow that came in 1929, to say nothing of 1939.

Hutchinson's research is impeccable. As a chronological account of the activities of one of America's nearest near-great, his work adds substantially to our understanding of an important era.

University of California, Berkeley

JOHN D. HICKS

NATIONAL TUBERCULOSIS ASSOCIATION, 1904-1954: A STUDY OF THE VOLUNTARY HEALTH MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. By *Richard Harrison Shryock*. [Historical Series Number 8.] (New York: National Tuberculosis Association. 1957. Pp. 342. \$3.50.)

TUBERCULOSIS is a plague in which social factors have loomed as large as medical factors in both the contraction and the treatment of the disease. This book, therefore, represents a happy conjunction of theme and author, for the forte of Professor Shryock is in revealing the interplay between developments in medical science and trends in society. The National Tuberculosis Association chose him to write its history and gave him carte blanche. If more organizations and industries selected authors with equal discrimination, the quality of institutional history in America would soar.

The NTA pioneered a new structure in the health crusade. It was a voluntary society, at first nominally but in time actually national, with both physicians and laymen as members, and it was aimed at controlling a single disease. Its original loose structure tightened as time went on, with state societies influencing NTA policy through representation on its Board, and with the national society influencing local programs through stipulations as to how income from the sale of Christmas seals might be spent. The seals, invented in Denmark in 1904 and used

in one American town three years later, became in time a dependable source of huge sums, making the NTA the most prosperous association of its type.

The programs of the NTA have reflected the changing state of knowledge concerning tuberculosis. In 1904 the germ that caused the disease was known, but efforts at immunizing against it and at curing it with drugs had proved unavailing. Hence early NTA campaigns stressed prevention. Combining the zeal of the social reformer with the objectivity of the clinician, association leaders warned the public against spitting, pressed for legislation to outlaw unhygienic conditions, and urged the creation of more sanatoriums where the sick could be removed from infectious contact with the well. When evidence accumulated that almost everyone played host to the germ, whereas comparatively few contracted the disease, propaganda shifted from taboos to positive injunctions for healthful living in order to strengthen bodily resistance. This change in emphasis, along with better financing and the general temper of American medicine, led the NTA in 1920 to begin the subsidization of research. This has continued to expand in scope, most notably during the last decade.

Shryock's book is in large measure a success story. From a tuberculosis death rate of 188 per 100,000 population in 1904, the figure had fallen to ten per 100,000 in 1954, and the rate of morbidity also had declined sharply. Factors responsible for the advance include enlarged public health programs by governments on all levels, improved personal hygiene, more accurate early diagnosis, new techniques in surgery, the advent of vaccines, and the discovery of chemical agents which can combat the tubercle bacillus with much effectiveness. At the root of these developments lie the activities and influence of the NTA.

By its very success has the NTA outlived its usefulness? Shryock, always sympathetic to the Association but not uncritical of its policies, agrees with its officers that 100,000 new infections a year are warrant for continued life. He does suggest that the NTA has been tardy in spreading its Christmas seal wealth to help finance other less victorious health crusades.

Emory University

JAMES HARVEY YOUNG

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1955. By *Hollis W. Barber* and the Research Staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council. 1957. Pp. xii, 346. \$6.00.)

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1956. By *Richard P. Stebbins* and the Research Staff of the Council on Foreign Relations. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council. 1957. Pp. xii, 426. \$6.00.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1955. Edited by *Paul E. Zinner*. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1956. Pp. xxiv, 487. \$6.00.)

DOCUMENTS ON AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1956. Edited by

Paul E. Zinner. (New York: Harper and Brothers for the Council on Foreign Relations. 1957. Pp. xxiii, 552. \$6.75.)

WHEN the Council on Foreign Relations in 1952 took over from the World Peace Foundation responsibility for the preparation of the *Documents on American Foreign Relations* series, it planned to coordinate these volumes closely with its other series, *The United States in World Affairs*, and to publish simultaneously the companion volumes for each year. For several years, unfortunately, preparation of *The United States in World Affairs* volumes fell behind that of the *Documents*. The gap is now being closed. Though *The United States in World Affairs* for 1955 appeared only in September, 1957, both the *World Affairs* volume and the *Documents* for 1956 appeared some months earlier, and it is now promised that the two companion volumes for each year will be published in the ensuing spring.

The United States in World Affairs for 1955 follows closely the plan for the 1954 volume, except that it devotes one entire chapter (out of seven) to "Turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa," an area which in 1954 shared a chapter with South Asia and the rest of Africa. The volume for 1956 is longer by eighty pages and four chapters than its predecessor, with three chapters devoted wholly or principally to the Mediterranean and the Middle East. In the two volumes the reader can follow the Middle Eastern story from the early planning for the financing of the Aswan High Dam, through the Soviet-Egyptian arms deal and the crisis of 1956, to the situation as it stood at year's end. Mr. Stebbins, in his account of the Suez crisis, does not attempt to say to what extent the seizure of the canal was actually the result of the cancellation of the plans for financing the dam. Nor does he appraise the Anglo-French military action except on strictly pragmatic criteria. As it turned out, he remarks: "The adventure must certainly be written down as a colossal blunder whether or not it was the crime that much of the world believed it to be." But was the blunder in the adventure itself or in its faulty execution? One amazing feature of the story is the fact that, although since July the British and French had discussed a possible seizure of the Suez area, at the end of October they were so far from ready that a week elapsed between the announcement of the plan and the landing of troops. There is no criticism of the part played by the United States in the affair beyond the observation that this government was taken by surprise and had to play by ear. One wonders in this connection, and in others too, what had become of the once promising Policy Planning Staff of the State Department. As far as the record shows, every crisis in foreign relations in these years seems to have been handled by improvisation.

The Middle East crisis has been mentioned in some detail as one of the most important and dramatic chapters of the international story in 1955 and 1956. In these volumes it falls into proper perspective as an episode in the East-West struggle, complicated as it is by the issue of "colonialism." That story as a whole

begins in a period of high tension in the Far East. Tension was relaxed, first by the conciliatory pronouncements of Chou En-lai at the Bandung Conference, and later by the "Summit Meeting" at Geneva. Then came disillusionment with the failure of the Foreign Ministers' Conference and evidence of Soviet penetration of the Middle East. "Destalinization" again raised false hopes in the West, which were soon dispelled by events in the Middle East and in Hungary. Meanwhile, following the apparent agreement at Geneva that atomic war is "unthinkable," United States military policy was being so shaped that any war in which the United States participates is virtually certain to be waged with atomic weapons. The new and more subtle Soviet tactics adopted after the death of Stalin, at first hailed by Secretary Dulles as proof of the efficacy of American policy, failed to call forth any impressive countermeasures on the part of the United States. The disarmament debate dragged on, foreign economic policy was uncertain, Western Hemisphere policy showed both debits and credits. On the whole, these objectively written volumes should make more cheerful reading in Moscow than in Washington.

The *Documents* cover generally the same ground as the corresponding narrative volumes, though the organization is different. The narrative volumes are cross-referenced to the *Documents* but not vice versa. Here again, the growing importance of the Middle East is shown by the allotment of space to that area—twenty-two pages in 1955, 113 in 1956. The Suez Canal problem alone, prior to the invasion of Egypt, receives fifty-four pages of documentation. Ninety pages of the 1956 volume are allotted to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, including the uprising in Hungary. Excerpts from Khrushchev's Report from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Twentieth Congress occupy sixteen pages. American and Russian commentaries on Khrushchev's now famous "destalinization" speech to the same Congress are included, but not the speech itself. The disarmament debates fill forty pages in the volume for 1955, sixty pages in that for 1956. On the whole, the documents in these volumes seem judiciously selected, while footnotes facilitate the consulting of others excluded by limitations of space.

University of Buffalo

JULIUS W. PRATT

Latin American History

THE DUTCH IN BRAZIL, 1624-1654. By C. R. Boxer. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 327. \$6.75.)

THIS account of the conquest of northeastern Brazil by the Dutch is not intended, as the author points out in the preface, to supersede Wätjen's basic work but to supplement it. The more extensive use of Portuguese sources, in combination with the Brazilian and Dutch ones, is as important to justify this book as Professor Boxer's remarkable gift "to look at the evidence with fresh eyes" and to produce an extremely readable volume. This reviewer has no recollection of

any historical account concerning Brazil which held his attention so closely as *The Dutch in Brazil*.

The first of the seven chapters sets forth the assumptions and hopes that motivated the foundation of the West India Company and the conquest. Apparently the Dutch had a great deal of contempt for the Portuguese and their military abilities. This attitude persisted until the very last and seems to rank high among the reasons for the eventual defeat of the conquerors. The second chapter deals with the invasion of Pernambuco and the resistance put up by the Portuguese and Brazilians. Although little help was obtained from Spain and Portugal (unified at that time under the Spanish king), guerilla warfare was effective enough to put the West India Company in a bad financial position. In 1636, after thirteen years of fighting, many of the initial hopes of reaping high profits from sugar-rich Brazil had already been shattered.

Chapters III and IV are concerned with the personality and rule of Johan Maurits, only governor-general of Dutch Brazil. Under most difficult conditions, with little support from the Netherlands and hampered by war and corruption, he succeeded in turning Pernambuco into a model colony by the standards of his time. Against the resistance of Catholics and Calvinist zealots he allowed, as Boxer points out, a greater degree of religious freedom than there was "anywhere else in the Western world." He built Mauritsstad, surrounded himself with artists and scientists who produced some of the most remarkable works of their time, stimulated immigration and agriculture, and extended Dutch control to San Luis do Maranhão. His attempt to conquer Bahia, however, was defeated. After Maurits' return in 1644, the situation in Netherlands Brazil gradually deteriorated, and after a long struggle of ten years, in which countless blunders were committed by the Dutch as well as the Portuguese, the Dutch rule in Brazil came to an end. The vicissitudes of the "divine war of liberation" are described in chapters V and VI, and the last chapter is concerned with the final settlement of the conflict between Portugal and the Netherlands. There are four appendixes.

The Brazilians developed what may be called an ambivalent attitude toward the Dutch conquest. On the one hand, they rank it among the heroic periods of Brazilian history during which an emerging nationality fought for liberty and survival; the "Dutch War," as they call it, is depicted as a national war. On the other hand, the Brazilians have a deep admiration for the accomplishments of Johan Maurits. There has been a great deal of speculation about what would have happened to Brazil if the Dutch instead of the Portuguese had ruled it. Needless to say, not all of this conjectural history is favorable to the Portuguese.

Boxer's book will contribute much to correct certain aspects of conventional Brazilian historiography. It will also arouse objections, for when referring to military resistance, the author speaks of Portuguese and *moradores* rather than of Brazilians.

Vanderbilt University

EMILIO WILLEMS

DANCE OF THE MILLIONS: MILITARY RULE AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN COLOMBIA, 1930-1956. By *Vernon Lee Fluharty*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 1957. Pp. 336. \$6.00.)

THIS is a thoughtful survey of the political, economic, and social history of Colombia for a period of twenty-six years. Most of the facts presented can be accepted as accurate; the main thesis of the author, assistant professor of political science at the University of Pittsburgh, will arouse controversy.

His thesis may be summarized in three parts. Neither of Colombia's two parties—the Liberal and the Conservative—has ever governed the nation in the interest of the majority of the people. On the contrary, each party has ruled mainly in its own interest in accordance with the trophy concept of government, except in times of crisis, when they have formed coalitions to prevent the successful revolt of the masses. Although some favors have been granted to the common people with the view of appeasement, the goal of both parties has been the suppression of the populace. Over the long period since the winning of independence, this part of the author's thesis may be true, but exceptions have occurred, especially in the case of the Liberals.

The second part of the thesis, namely that a dictatorship may be, and often is, necessary in order to utilize political power to serve the masses in defiance of the party oligarchies can be accepted only if one assumes that the dictators are devoid of the oligarchic, or trophy, concept of government and therefore more interested in serving the common people than in serving themselves and their supporters, who are usually the officers of the armed forces.

The author uses the dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla to illustrate the second part of his thesis. But Rojas Pinilla had not completed his political career, which began on June 13, 1953, before Professor Fluharty finished his book in July, 1956, and Fluharty's sudden death on January 7, 1957, deprived him of the opportunity to investigate the last year of the Colombian dictator's despotic rule. Further study is necessary in order to determine whether this dictator actually illustrates the second part of Fluharty's thesis. The author admits that Rojas Pinilla deprived the party leaders, the oligarchs, as he calls them, of freedom of the press and of political activity but contends that this repression was in the interest of the common people. In view of the accusation that the dictator and the armed forces plundered the nation, acceptance of this contention must await further investigation.

The third part of the thesis is that the common people of Colombia have reached a stage of development characterized by a determination to have the government of the nation used in their behalf and that they will no longer tolerate its utilization by the oligarchy to serve only the upper class. If this be true, and if the leaders of the two parties refuse to accept the inevitable, then it would appear that a "third force," perhaps in the form of a third party, must be

organized in the near future. The efficacy of third parties, however, at least in the United States, seems to depend upon the acceptance of third-party programs by one of the major and traditional parties.

The author's interpretation of Colombian history is provocative and might be applied to the history of other Latin American countries. But investigators should always and continuously ask themselves at least two fundamental questions: Are the masses poor and illiterate because they have been neglected by political leaders or for many other reasons? Are officers of the military forces, themselves usually members of the oligarchies, more likely than civilian oligarchs to abandon the trophy concept of government and rule in the national interest?

University of Chicago

J. FRED RIPPY

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

INTERNATIONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. Volume XXII, 1953, including some publications of previous years. Edited for the International Committee of Historical Sciences, Lausanne. Published with the assistance of UNESCO, and under the patronage of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1955. Pp. xxvii, 369.) If the reviewer of the current volume of an annual bibliography assumes his review will be read, he must assume that reviews of preceding volumes have been read and thus concludes that he need not repeat in detail the observations of earlier reviewers if their observations still apply. Such is the case here. The volume, alas, does not afford the kind of opportunity that Clifford Shipton's thirteenth and final volume of Charles Evans' monumental *American Bibliography* (Worcester, Mass., 1955) offered. There the compiler's preface contained an absorbing account of Evans' working methods. Evans, it is disclosed, made a rather novel use of corset boxes as portable, tucked-under-arm filing boxes, ideally dimensioned to embrace his exactly halved 3 x 5 cards—an interesting footnote in the history of bibliographical records management. But the age of corsets has passed, and with it doubtless the age of single-handed bibliographical exploits of the magnitude of Evans'. The *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* is a cooperative bibliographical undertaking. Volume XXII exhibits the same merits and weaknesses as its predecessors, reviewed in the *American Historical Review* most recently in 1954 and 1955. It is exactly what its foreword states it to be—a highly selective and descriptive bibliography as distinguished from an analytical and critical one. It is indeed boldly selective. Its organization and classification of entries are subject to criticism, depending on the special interest of any individual user or group of users. It would benefit greatly from a fuller index. But the volume fulfills its broad purpose, which is to serve as a "general bibliography comprehending the whole field of historical sciences," in no sense supplanting the great national bibliographies, or the highly specialized bibliographies in particular fields.

LESTER W. SMITH, *National Archives*

INDEX TO THE WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY, 1902-1940. (Washington, D. C.: American Historical Association, 1956. Pp. vii, 1115. Members \$5.00, nonmembers and institutions \$10.00.) This volume will be very useful to students of American history if they have access to a set of the *Writings*. The late David Maydole Matteson, who started the compilation and whose bequest made possible its completion, is recognized in the foreword, and the work is dedicated to the memory of the late J. Franklin Jameson, who for many years promoted the compilation and publication of the annual volumes of *Writings*. The *Index* is "not merely a consolidated or cumulative one," however, for it "contains references and subject descriptions which will not be found in the separate indexes" in the *Writings* volumes. The foreword states that "the latter part of the 1902 volume has not been completely covered," although it does not explain why or just what part of that volume has been

covered. The *Index* does not cover the years 1904 and 1905, years in which the *Writings* were not published. The late Grace Gardner Griffin, formerly of the Library of Congress, was primarily responsible for the compilation of the volumes of the *Writings* for 1906 to 1940, inclusive. For the years 1948 to 1951, inclusive, James Masterson, at first of the Library of Congress and later of the National Historical Publications Commission, has compiled the volumes. The *Writings* are published by the American Historical Association as part of its *Annual Reports*. It is understood that the 1952 volume is in press, that others are in process, and that plans for filling the 1941-1947 gap are under consideration.

SOLON J. BUCK, *Washington, D. C.*

THE DEVELOPMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY. Edited by *Matthew A. Fitzsimons, Alfred G. Pundt, and Charles E. Nowell*. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Company. 1955. Pp. xxxii, 471. \$4.75.) This collaborative work is an answer to the need, as the preface indicates, for a "reasonably comprehensive and up-to-date volume on the history of historical writing." Twenty-five historian-specialists from various parts of the United States trace the development of historical writing from the beginning. The book will be valued by graduate students and by other specialists who wish a ready handbook covering fields other than their own. As an editor, this reviewer has found the book useful, and it stands on a shelf close to his desk along with standard reference works—with, for example, Thompson, Langer, Hockett, Barzun and Graff, Shepherd, Morris, *A Guide to Historical Literature*, and the *Harvard Guide to American History*.

B. C. S.

BOOK CATALOGUES: THEIR VARIETIES AND USES. By *Archer Taylor*. (Chicago: Newberry Library. 1957. Pp. xii, 284. \$6.50.) This profusely documented monograph is a companion to Professor Taylor's earlier inquiries into the emergence and application of the literary apparatus. Now the "essay" (as he calls it) is concerned "with catalogues that list printed books owned by private persons, institutions, booksellers, and publishers." These four types and their distinguishable subdivisions are historically, critically, and analytically examined; their origins (in the Renaissance), progress, monumenta, characteristics, and eccentricities are related; their "strength and weakness as reference works" and their significance as evidence for an understanding of civilization's pattern and civilization's change are expounded. The author finds "the wider uses" of catalogues to "include the investigation of the nature and structure of knowledge in former times, the description of the cultural climate of an age or country, and the discovery of currents of influence between countries." Among their "more limited uses" he points to "the identification of authors and titles, the discovery of the value of books in financial and other terms, the assembling of material for the investigation of a subject, and the interpretation of the background of an important political or literary figure." Again, "the specific nature of a catalogue may make it a useful aid in the study of the history of printing or the booktrade, in the study of the growth and development of private and more often institutional libraries, and in the study of the historical development of principles and practice in book classification." A list, carefully annotated, of 140 private library catalogues important "as sources of information for a student of intellectual history" is provided. Dr. Johnson, in the preface to the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* (1743) wrote: "All those who desire any Knowledge of the Literary Transactions of past Ages, may find in Catalogues, like this at least, such an Account as is given by Annalists and Chronologers of Civil History." Taylor has rigorously investigated the thesis and (with fewer capitals) proved it to be sound. The four indexes (despite some omissions, among them an

entry for the above quotation) are generally satisfactory, but one of them illustrates the vagaries sometimes incident to subservience to the alphabetical convention. In it "weights and measures" are immediately followed by "women." Do not taste and reason insist that the order be reversed?

DAVID C. MEARNS, *Washington, D. C.*

DAS ZEITALTER ALS SCHICKSAL: DIE GEISTESGESCHICHTLICHE KATEGORIE DER EPOCHE. By *Michael Landmann*. [Philosophische Forschungen, Neue Folge, Volume 7.] (Basel: Verlag für Recht und Gesellschaft. 1956. Pp. ix, 104. 1,250 fr.) This thoughtful and provocative study provides an analysis of periodization primarily as a problem in the philosophy of history. The framework Landmann sets up for his discussion is the fundamental one of the relationship between particular events and general patterns. The alternation in the primacy of each of these factors has given way, according to Landmann, to the denial of any absolute validity to both by historicism, and thereby the "period" (*Epoche*) becomes the decisive intermediate category between the "cultures" or "peoples," which now constitute the unity in history, and their specific "manifestations." The "period," then, refers to a general kind of temporal "being" which lies beyond the consciousness of any historical individual or collection of individuals and yet is in continuous reciprocal relation with them. Consequently, Landmann makes both the definition and the treatment of periodization flexible and undogmatic. A period, for him, can be defined either as a section of time characterized by a unified style or as a "tendency of style," which penetrates different media at different tempos. His consideration of the concrete applications and applicability of periodization in modern historiography is equally broad and understanding. Weaving a wealth of learning into his argument, Landmann shows how periods have been and can be used to identify changes in general spirit within a single field, temporal identities of spirit among different fields, and parallel styles in all ages; and how difficult periodization inherently is in view of divergent developments within a single time span and in view of the problem of assigning transitions. In the final analysis, however, Landmann asserts his belief in the reality, during every age, of a common spirit or style which sponsors all the specific manifestations—however ostensibly diverse—of its tenure, operates as the ineluctable context of individual activity, and identifies a historical "period." Landmann's confidence in a reigning spirit as the substantive justification of periodization must be understood in the light of three preconceptions which seem to underlie his position. First, his approach is that of a philosopher of history rather than a practicing historian. Secondly, he treats history primarily as intellectual history. Thirdly, he assigns "variability," which he sees as the essence of history, primarily to supra-individual entities. Within the limits set by these assumptions he has constructed a convincing argument for periodization. Outside these limits, however, the problem of how these periods are to be ascertained remains a problem still.

LEONARD KRIEGER, *Yale University*

L'UOMO ANTICO NEL PENSIERO DEL RINASCIMENTO. By *Giuseppe Toffanin*. (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore. 1957. Pp. 177. L. 1,200.) The difference between Toffanin and other contemporary students of Renaissance humanism are of two main sorts. One is a difference in attitude. While the majority of scholars now see in the subject a whole series of complex problems to be approached with humility and handled with delicacy, for Toffanin the problems are simple, their solutions are obvious, and the failure of others to recognize this is evidently perverse. In addition there are major differences in basic interpretation. In contrast to such men as Hans Baron

and Eugenio Garin, who have concentrated on the political and social connections of humanism, seen it as an aspect of broader historical currents, and thereby pointed to diversities corresponding to environmental changes and differences, Toffanin has persisted in regarding it as a distinct and unvarying ideological position which accepts the values of ancient culture and insists on their usefulness and assimilability to Christianity. Stemming from the Latin Fathers and transmitted by Saint Thomas and Dante, the humanism of the Renaissance, for Toffanin, differs only in a sharper militancy stimulated by the challenge of Averroism. On the basis of this conflict, Toffanin develops a neat series of dichotomies. Humanism means Christianity, Catholicism, classicism, the sense of a universal rational order, internationalism, veneration for Latin; from Averroism, its mortal enemy, have come their contraries, in sum the major evils of the modern world: irreligion, Protestantism, romantic individualism, naturalism, nationalism, the espousal of divisive vernacular languages. History can scarcely be more neatly represented in terms of ideas alone, and although Toffanin has provided a useful stimulus to recognizing the traditional and Christian elements in Renaissance humanism, his formulas have produced more dissent than agreement. In defense of his views, therefore, Toffanin has felt called on to publish a number of works, aggressively polemical in tone, of which the present volume is the latest. It consists of a series of related essays, the first of which gives its title to the book. Toffanin's followers and critics will find here the same qualities and contentions as in his earlier statements: the same stimulating (or meretricious) affirmations, the same enthusiastic and aggrieved rhetoric, the same arguments. To indicate the gulf which continues to separate Toffanin from most other students of his subject, it is perhaps sufficient to point out that he puts his emphasis on Petrarch, whom he still finds an adequate basis for generalizing about the entire humanist movement.

WILLIAM J. BOUWSMA, *University of California, Berkeley*

SPIRITUAL AND ANABAPTIST WRITERS. Edited by *George Huntston Williams* and *Angel M. Mergal*. [Library of Christian Classics, Volume XXV.] (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1957. Pp. 421. \$5.00.) Recent years have witnessed considerable recovery and clarification of the so-called "left wing of the Reformation" (which Professor Williams prefers to call the "Radical Reformation"), and this volume will contribute significantly to the extension of that knowledge. At times, in the past, the Reformation radicals have been depicted as being essentially of one mind and then dismissed with some kind of revolutionary label. But modern scholarship, in rediscovering the documents of the Radical Reformation, is discovering the various types of thinkers which comprised that movement and thus is becoming aware of the really great variety within it. In his introduction to this printing of documents from some of the sixteenth-century radicals, Williams suggests a classification involving six types. The basic distinction is the well-known one between the Anabaptists and the Spiritualists; but each of these he then subdivides. Among the former there are the Revolutionary Anabaptists (such as the Münsterites), the Contemplative Anabaptists (John Denck), and the Evangelical Anabaptists (Ulrich Stadler, Balthasar Hubmaier, Menno Simons, etc.). Among the latter there are the Revolutionary Spiritualists (Thomas Müntzer), the Rational Spiritualists (Sebastian Franck), and the Evangelical Spiritualists (Caspar Schwenckfeld). Each of these, as well as others, is then represented or discussed in the thirteen documents printed in Part I of this volume, which actually comprises approximately three fourths of its total content. The documents themselves are for the most part heretofore little known, though important in character, and thus are a valuable contribution to this literature in English translation. The selection is such that the wide range of emphases and concerns found among the Radical Re-

formers is clearly set forth. This section also includes a very useful bibliography of all material written by representatives of the Radical Reformation and now available in English translation. Part II presents a somewhat different kind of sixteenth-century document, three selections from Juan de Valdés representing evangelical Catholicism. These are introduced by a brief description of Valdés' life and thought written by Professor Mergal, who has provided also a complete bibliography of Valdés' works.

JOHN VON ROHR, *Pacific School of Religion*

FROM VIENNA TO VERSAILLES. By L. C. B. Seaman. (New York: Coward-McCann, 1956. Pp. viii, 216. \$4.50.) This is a deceptively slim volume describing a fat period in European political and diplomatic history. It is a work of interpretation in which the author, as he admits in his preface, sets out to be "provocative and emphatic." He is both. Hitting out at myths and half-truths, he arrives at judgments which, although sometimes controversial, are always honest and worthy of study. Among other things he comes to the following conclusions: the Vienna settlement was "a better peace than either Utrecht or Versailles"; there was never "such a thing as a Congress System"; the Great Powers for forty years after 1815 "were afraid of revolution," whereas for forty years after 1871 "they were afraid of one another"; Bismarck did not unify Germany, nor did he even want to; the "contemptuous attitude usually taken toward Napoleon III's work for Italy is one of the shoddier bits of the mythology of nineteenth century historians"; the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, although "widely regarded as marking the end of 'Splendid Isolation,'" was designed "rather to avoid ending that isolation"; German responsibility for World War I is "basic"; Woodrow Wilson was "inspired by that deep sense of conviction which is the unique possession of those who combine profound idealism with profounder ignorance"; the League of Nations should never have been set up in 1919—"a shadow just substantial enough to prevent people from realizing that an effective peace-preserving machinery was simply not there." No reader, of course, will agree with everything he finds in this volume; yet no one should deprive himself of the pleasure and stimulation of reading it, although the qualification should be added that it is not for the student who is just beginning his study of the nineteenth century. A similar volume interpreting nineteenth-century American diplomatic history would be equally useful.

HOWARD MAXWELL MERRIMAN, *George Washington University*

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP: THEIR PSYCHOLOGY AND PATTERNS OF LIFE. By Zevedei Barbu. (New York: Grove Press, 1956. Pp. viii, 275. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$1.45.) Zevedei Barbu is a Rumanian-born lecturer at the University of Glasgow. He combines an unusually broad awareness of history, the classics, philosophy, and theology with proven competence in his field of specialization, social psychology. His objective in this volume is to analyze the differences in the mental structures of democracy, fascism, and communism, those that produce them and the kind they in turn create. His data is historical, by deliberate choice; his avowed method is empirical, though inevitably it remains—as it should—somewhat impressionistic. The most enlightening features of his book are the processes by which the author reaches his conclusions; the book itself must be read to be appreciated. Its major theses, more suggestive of Jung than of Freud, are built around the central conclusion that democracy, facism, and communism are three different socio-political responses to the basic bio-psychic urge for security. Neither a historicist nor a racist, Barbu insists in good historical spirit that each response has been shaped by time and place of appearance. Thus in treating Nazism (which is the variety of facism he chose to study), Barbu goes beyond Erich Fromm's thesis that it was a form of "escape from freedom,"

arguing that the fascist type of personality develops when "faith both in a transcendental and immanent reason is weak, or totally absent." Communism, he concludes, is the product of a minimum of mental and social security and a maximum of misguided conviction that the exercise of human reason can solve all human problems; through the latter communism becomes tyrannical, though in a less degrading and regressive form than Nazism. Barbu's treatment of democracy is both longer and weaker than his discussion of Nazism and communism. Here his major conclusion is that democracy is built up "in a cultural climate in which faith in a transcendental order exists side by side with faith in an immanent order of life established by human reason"; paradoxically, people with a well-developed sense of security construct the social order which provides its members with the greatest sense of security. This points to the chief weakness of Barbu's work, his understandable inability to decide which come first, sociological factors or psychological characteristics. The author himself confesses that he has reached a beginning, not an end, and it is to be hoped that he may continue his study of the interaction between the structure of history and human personality. He has already amply demonstrated that the historical factors which make people different are at least as important as the biological and psychological characteristics which make men alike.

JOHN L. SNELL, *Tulane University*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA. By *Zoë Marsh and G. W. Kingsnorth*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 262. \$3.00.) East Africa has become an area of increasing concern in recent years, and this volume is the first to survey its history as a whole. The unity of the territory is recognized in the integrated treatment of subjects common to all East African countries. In the interest of giving proper perspective, the authors also consider some developments outside of East Africa. Early history, discovery and exploration, slavery, abolition, and missions are topics which receive a general treatment. On the other hand, because of the disparities in their internal development, local events in Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar are described separately. One virtue of the book is the excellent biographical handling of many important persons in East African history. The sketches of Livingstone, Stanley, Sir John Kirk, and many others are fascinating and valuable. The significance of East Africa as a colonial testing ground for such administrative policies as indirect rule is clearly indicated in the account of Lord Lugard's life and work. The fifteen simple but clear outline maps are very helpful. Some may note the absence of extensive annotation and complete bibliographical citations, but the authors are well acquainted with the literature in their field. It is strange that little mention is made of the recent Mau Mau conspiracy in Kenya. That unfortunate and dreadful episode is indeed regrettable but surely merits a review and appraisal in any current East African history. The authors, who are staff members of the Kenya High School and the Alliance High School in Kenya, have written a volume which will serve admirably as a textbook but which will also be of keen interest to the specialist and the general reader as well. It is clearly organized, scholarly sound, and it fills an important gap in the historical literature on East Africa. This reviewer only wishes that he might have had this little book in hand when his own research interest in East African history was aroused some years ago.

GARLAND G. PARKER, *University of Cincinnati*

GOLD COAST MISSION HISTORY, 1471-1880. By *Ralph M. Wiltgen*, S.V.D. (Techny, Ill.: Divine Word Publications. 1956. Pp. xvi, 181. \$3.00.) This detailed study of one of the oldest African mission fields deserves the attention of those inter-

ested in colonialism. The author has succeeded in his aim of giving a reliable account of the Catholic missions in the Gold Coast prior to 1880. He sifts his evidence critically and gives an objective account which spares none of the occasionally unworthy, frequently unheroic men who enter his story. At the same time he shows the perservance of those who tried to help the Africans. He has an eye for the striking detail which gives life and color to his narrative. One particularly important contribution which this book makes to colonial history is the account of the efforts of the papacy, urged by the missionaries, to end the slave trade by excommunicating those engaged in it. The decrees had no effect, and the traffic continued until the nineteenth century, when western European governments used armed force to suppress it. Only then could mission work be successful. The book shows careful research in many ecclesiastical archives, while leaving something to be desired from the point of view of style. It is unfortunate that the excellent and exhaustive bibliography is not more carefully classified and given critical annotations. In view of the author's statement of his purpose, the chapter on the Protestant missions could well be omitted. These criticisms, however, do not touch the core of the book, and the points mentioned could easily be corrected in a second edition. It is to be hoped that Father Wiltgen will follow up this study by one on the modern period of the Gold Coast missions.

JANE K. MILLER, *San Francisco College for Women*

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Ancient History

T. Robert S. Broughton¹

A HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN ANTIQUITY. By H. I. Marrou. Translated by George Lamb. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1956. Pp. xviii, 466. \$7.50.) When the French version of this book appeared in 1948 it was recognized at once as the best work available on the history of education in antiquity (*AHR*, LIV [January, 1949], 338). Based on a thorough knowledge of the papyri and other recently discovered evidence, it covers the whole period from Homer to the decline of ancient civilization, with special emphasis upon the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The author is pleasingly appreciative of the contributions of the Romans of the imperial period to education and to civilization in general. Marrou's literary style is not easily rendered into English, and the translation is at times rather stilted, but it adequately reflects the author's meaning.

J. W. SWAIN, *University of Illinois*

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

RHETORIC IN GRECO-ROMAN EDUCATION. By *Donald Lemen Clark*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 285. \$4.50.) The author first conceived of writing this book in 1917, but had he done so then it would have lacked the wisdom and maturity of the present volume, which is a storehouse of information and suggestions for teachers and others seriously interested in ancient rhetoric. The topics are developed skillfully by carefully chosen quotations from the old masters—Quintilian and Cicero, Aristotle and Isocrates, Hermogenes and Aphthonius, to mention only a few. The emphasis, however, is on Roman times, partly no doubt because more is known of schooling in that period, partly because the author's interest in the continuity of rhetorical training leads him back imperceptibly through Milton, Shakespeare, and the Middle Ages to the late Roman period. Devoted to survivals and modern applications rather than to origins, the volume is also a book of opinion. The writer is appalled at the breakdown in teaching good morals in schools today. With rare candor he writes: "It is a commonplace of universal observation that children by natural impulse are liars, thieves, and vandals. Only if some rudiments of morality are inculcated by parents and teachers will the little savages acquire some semblance of civilized conduct." Professor Clark is also critical of rhetoric as taught under an imperial government, like that of Rome, where real issues cannot be discussed and the training tends to lose touch with reality. But this training did have the good result of familiarizing students with the details of history. Today school exercises, he thinks, might well be assigned on subjects like Arnold's treason or Lincoln's decision to free the slaves. The author puts his finger on one essential difference between our problems and those of imperial Rome when he says: "The boys were trained for their place as members of the ruling class."

TRUESDELL S. BROWN, *University of California, Los Angeles*

SOVIET STUDIES OF ANCIENT SLAVERY AND SLAVE UPRISINGS [in Russian; English summary]. By *A. Kotsevalov*. [Research and Sources Series 1, Number 30.] (Munich: Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. 1956. Pp. 61.) Soviet students of ancient slavery, according to the author of this volume, are hindered in their scholarly pursuits by their commitment to interpret ancient economic systems in terms of slaveholding institutions alone. Kotsevalov also claims that Soviet historians exaggerate the scope and social significance of ancient slave uprisings and underestimate the historical forces which cannot be readily identified in economic terms. While the volume covers too many topics to do them justice, it does show that the scholarly output of Soviet historians has reached impressive proportions and that considerable differences of opinion exist among them with regard to the interpretation of the collapse of Roman slavery.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH, *San Jose State College*

DORIENS ET IONIENS: ESSAI SUR LA VALEUR DU CRITÈRE ETHNIQUE APPLIQUÉ À L'ÉTUDE DE L'HISTOIRE ET DE LA CIVILISATION GRECQUES. By *Edouard Will*. [Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fascicule 132.] (Paris: Société d'Édition: "Les Belles Lettres." 1956. Pp. 107.) The author's main conclusions are that "Ionian" and "Dorian" are merely conventional and convenient terms for distinguishing two groups of people who settled in the Aegean area after the collapse of the Late Helladic civilization; that the view of K. O. Müller (*Die Dorier*, 1824), that the two peoples, being of different race, temperament, and mentality, were consciously and deliberately antagonistic one to the other, is as invalid as it is persistent; and that "Ionianism" and "Dorianism" are vague and meaningless terms, without historical reality or sociological justification. While

the book contains much that is worth while, it also devotes too much space to special pleading and to knocking down straw men. After all, it is scarcely surprising that Müller's views on race are not up to date and that he was unacquainted with Max Weber. The first chapter, "Ionian Individualism [and] Dorian Discipline—Two False Ideas Cleared Up," is basically sound but tends to overstate the case. The third chapter, "The Absence of a True Ethnic Awareness in Greek Literature," is largely a quibble on the word "true." On the other hand, the fourth and final chapter, "The Ethnic Criterion and Archaeological Analysis," does valuable service in pointing out the fallacious subjectivism of those art critics who speak of "the Ionian Spirit" and "the Dorian Spirit" in Greek sculpture and vase painting, and it is not difficult to agree with the author that Greek tyrants were not so much anti-Dorian as antiaristocrat, for only in the Peloponnese were most aristocrats Dorians. Will states in his preface that his work is essentially negative, but it has its positive aspects. The recent work of Ventris and his associates in deciphering the Late Helladic script (for an excellent critique, see Rhys Carpenter, *Phoenix*, XI [1957], 47–62) means that much of Hellenic prehistory will have to be rewritten and that many venerable misconceptions must now be abandoned. This book should help clear the ground.

JOHN H. KENT, *University of Vermont*

THE INDO-GREEKS. By *A. K. Narain*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. xvi, 201. \$6.75.) Dr. Narain is the first Indian scholar to produce a monograph on a remarkable episode in the ancient history of Asia which first assumed shape in 1938 with W. W. Tarn's fundamental *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Oriental and occidental writers tell in meager outline how the Greeks, left behind in Bactria by Alexander, eventually mustered enough strength to conquer part of India. The evidence that matters here is the numismatic, but the problems are immense, and generally Narain can move the story along only a couple of sentences before stopping to support his position. The result is a learned and valuable book that is, however, exceptionally difficult to follow. It brings better order to some of the kings, especially to the famous Menander (ca. 155–130 B.C.) and his shadowy successors. Cultural development has been omitted entirely in favor of the political. The argumentation, accordingly, needs more illustrations of coins (no matter what their artistic merit), though those shown do suggest incidentally antiquity's most realistic portraiture. The maps should be more detailed. Let us hope that Narain, who is capable of prodigious industry, will now compose a graceful summary of all that is known. The introduction offered him a limited opportunity, but instead he devotes much space to a strange desire (also developed in an appendix and not argued well) to get many Greeks, "Yavanas," into Asia before Alexander. I cannot agree, moreover, that the stormy history of the Indo-Greeks "is part of the history of India and not of the Hellenistic states; they came, they saw, but India conquered." Nor does their march state merely represent "the rise of an adventurous people to fill the vacuum." Rather, their "thirty-nine kings and two queens" during the last two pre-Christian centuries reigned as an extension of Hellenistic society. It is beside the point that eventually they totally disappeared.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR., *Brown University*

SILLA E LA CRISI REPUBBLICANA. By *Ernesto Valgiglio*. [Biblioteca di Cultura, Number 60.] (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1956. Pp. 251. L. 1,000.) The author of this volume proposes to study the political work of Sulla, particularly the legislative aspect, in the light of the Roman constitutional crisis. In so doing, he also offers an excellently drawn portrait of Sulla, with all his good and bad features. The conclusions reached

are these: the foremost reason for the Sullan reform was to avoid the danger of other marches of the army against the constituted government, after the fashion of those led by Sulla himself and by Marius; Sulla's abdication from the dictatorship was the natural outlet of his program and of his ideal of the champion of the *nobilitas*; despite the apparent resemblance between the dictatorships of Sulla and Caesar, there existed a difference—Sulla, as defender of the *Optimates*, was a temporary dictator with the specific task of reminding the nobility of its old glories and traditions; Caesar, on the other hand, was the leader of an organism composed of armed legions, which formed with him a cohesive, homogeneous, and indivisible group known as "the military proletariat victorious over the decrepit republican nobility." Caesar thus represented the new form of monarchical government which Augustus transformed into a principate, i.e., a compromise between a monarchy *de facto* and a republic *de jure*. One of the ironies of the situation was that this group, so strongly molded by Caesar, had been taken in this direction mainly by Sulla, who found that his only hope of carrying out his program lay in the effective use of the proletariat. In general, this book covers in detail the ten year period, 88–79 B.C. Chapter III, "The Aristocratic Reconstruction: Dictatorship and Legislation of Sulla (82–79 B.C.)," is a most fruitful chapter, since it sets forth the real aims and actions of Sulla. The author uses primary sources as documentary evidence and secondary sources as explanatory evidence where needed. There is little question that a modern work of this nature has long been lacking. As the author suggests, the understanding of Sulla's career represents an important key to evaluating the later efforts of Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus. This book should become an authoritative source for that understanding. Written in a clear and readable fashion, it presents the republican crisis from the points of view of the leaders, the nobles, the *Optimates*, and the proletariat. Every scholar working with the period will welcome the addition of this well-done volume.

R. E. WOLVERTON, *University of Georgia*

IMPÉRATRICES SYRIENNES. By Jean Babelon. (Paris: Éditions Albin Michel. 1957. Pp. 299.) The Severan house is shown here largely in its personal relationships. The history of the Roman Empire in the early third century is sketched only as a dim backdrop, but sadly enough even the heroines of the tale, the Syrian empresses, do not emerge in sharp focus. Babelon shrugs his shoulders at the wicked stories of the sources but tells them nonetheless; the result is a conventional potpourri of the Augustan history, Dio Cassius, *et al.*, with some additional material from the coins, which are well reproduced. The bibliography is extensive, but haphazardly arranged and not always accurate. If the tale has merit, it must lie in the telling. The author essays to weave a shimmering, allusive mirage, especially in his evocations of the wicked Orient, a land of open sex and emotional religions; "c'est ici que la Rome des Césars devait trouver le principe de sa corruption." Babelon accordingly overemphasizes the place of Oriental cults in Rome, makes much play of racial characteristics, and builds hypotheses upon the flimsiest of suppositions so that his account may glide more smoothly. I do not think this work needs to enter the standard bibliographies for the era.

CHESTER G. STARR, *University of Illinois*

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm¹

LA PRIMA CRISI DELLA BANCA DI GENOVA (1250-1259). Edited by Robert S. Lopez. [Università Commerciale Luigi Bocconi, Istituto di Storia Economica, Series I, Volume XI.] (Milan: Università L. Bocconi. 1956. Pp. 195.) This book could as well have been called by the title of the editor's introduction, "The First Hundred Years of Documented History of the Bank at Genoa." Perhaps it might better have been so called, for the present title leaves the reader somewhat unprepared for the

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

wide-ranging discussion it contains (filling about half the book) on the history of early medieval banking. In exploring that early history, the archives of Genoa have for the student a special interest, for the city's notarial chartularies contain contracts forming the oldest continuous series (beginning in 1150) of medieval banking documents. In elucidating for his readers this Genoese "eohippus" of European banks, Professor Lopez finds occasion to comment, too, upon such related topics as Islamic and Byzantine banking and the origins of banking in the West, of double entry book-keeping, and of the letter of exchange, among many others. In a particularly stimulating section, he discusses the failure of the Genoese bank in the 1250's and relates that failure to a temporary downward turn in a business cycle at Genoa. Brief portraits of prominent personalities involved present the more human side of the story. While the ground Lopez covers is sometimes wealthier in scholarly controversies than in known facts, his comments are uniformly concise and pertinent, and his familiarity with the literature in often widely scattered fields is admirable. The second half of the book contains 112 documents, in full or in summary, most taken from notarial chartularies, which describe the operations and especially the failure of four Genoese banking companies. This reviewer must confess, however, that after the stimulating introduction, he found the documents themselves something of an anticlimax, not because the story they present does not merit their publication, but because part of the interest of notarial contracts is sacrificed when they are published individually, apart from the chartularies that contain them. Only a student thoroughly familiar with their context—such as Lopez himself—can hope to exploit their full worth. Still, historians working in Genoese material will be grateful for the publication (and for the indexes it contains), and perhaps Lopez will further please the rest of us by publishing a full history of the development of credit institutions in the early Middle Ages, to our knowledge of which he has already, in numerous short articles, contributed so much.

DAVID HERLIHY, *Bryn Mawr College*

A HISTORY OF ANTONY BEK: BISHOP OF DURHAM, 1283-1311. By C. M. Fraser. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. 266. \$6.75.) Antony Bek, the "magnanimous" bishop of Durham, has long merited a full-length biography. Trusted counselor and friend of Edward I, lord of the great "palatinate" of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem, he was a national figure, and the story of his career is the story of English political life between 1270 and 1311. Miss Constance Fraser, editor of the *Records of Antony Bek* for the Surtees Society, has written a carefully documented account based upon a wealth of public and ecclesiastical records, printed and in manuscript. These materials throw unexpected light on many problems of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II and emphasize the important role which Bek played in the execution of Edward I's foreign policy, not only in his dealings with the Scots but also in the formation of alliances against Philip IV of France. To the constitutional historian, the most interesting chapters describe the administration of the "liberty of the bishopric of Durham," one of the great medieval franchises, in which, as his steward asserted, the bishop was "a second king." Bek's success in expanding and organizing Durham as an autonomous "palatinate" was made possible by the personal favor of Edward, who valued his services in defending the north and who also revered the usages of St. Cuthbert. The author believes that Bek's ultimate failure was due not so much to the king's desire to vindicate royal sovereignty as to the long dispute between Bek and the convent of Durham, with its many appeals to Rome—a dispute that threatened to deprive the realm of his aid in the Scottish wars. The picture of Bek that emerges from Miss Fraser's biography cannot be complete because no episcopal register like that of his contemporary, Oliver Sutton of Lincoln, has survived. His

itinerary alone is evidence that diocesan affairs were not his primary concern. He was not of the company of "good bishops" or great spiritual statesmen but a man of affairs, an able administrator, a gifted negotiator on behalf of Edward I, a proud and ambitious prelate, worthy of the respect of kings and popes. Miss Fraser has succeeded in placing Bek in perspective and at the same time adding valuable detail to our knowledge of a critical period in English history.

NORMA ADAMS, *Mount Holyoke College*

LORD HASTINGS' INDENTURED RETAINERS, 1461-1483: THE LAWFULNESS OF LIVERY AND RETAINING UNDER THE YORKISTS AND TUDORS. By *William Huse Dunham, Jr.* [Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Volume 39.] (New Haven, Conn.: the Academy; distrib. by Yale University Press. 1955. Pp. 175. \$3.50.) This monograph is a valuable contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the "new feudalism" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. We have studies of fourteenth-century retainers, but for the fifteenth century we have had only generalizations based on contemporary protests against "overmighty subjects" and their bands of lawless followers. Professor Dunham gives us a detailed and careful study, based mainly on documents from the Hastings collection in the Huntington Library, of the indentured following of Lord William Hastings, Edward IV's devoted servant and chamberlain. Whether one agrees or not with Dunham's contention that the practice of retaining companies of knights, esquires, and gentlemen by indenture was a "refinement, and not a degeneration, of an earlier feudal custom," and that it provided "more sophisticated arrangements for war and politics than had the socially primitive tenurial feudalism of Norman England," one can only accept on the evidence the general view to which he with others subscribes. The key to the origin and perpetuation of the system lies in the king's military necessities. As soon as the king substituted a contractual paid army for a feudal tenurial army, he committed himself and the country (given contemporary social concepts) to a system of indentured retainership as the method of recruiting it. If, increasingly, the political and prestige factors became more important to the lord than the obligation of military service to the king and "good lordship" rather than money reward to the retainer, was this not, as Dunham implies, a reflection of the less military, more "civil" character of society in general? The statute of 1468 was the first, seemingly, to forbid altogether the practice of retaining nonresident followers. Dunham is on his most precarious ground, as he himself recognizes, when he argues that this statute was never intended to apply to the magnates. But he presents some telling arguments in showing that the bill itself was "an official or government bill," that it was drafted in the council of which Hastings was a prominent member, that prosecutions under the act were mainly directed against "little men," and that, although there is no evidence of Edward IV's granting licenses to magnates to avoid the act, most of Lord Hastings' ninety indentures were made after 1468 and seem to have been made openly and according to customary legal forms (as if to be proven in court if necessary). The statute did contain one loophole, an exception in favor of "lawful service." Was "lawful service" perhaps merely a covering phrase for service to the king or his supporters? This interpretation would make Edward IV's statute a transitional one between the first major statute of 1390, which forbade any but lords temporal to retain indentured knights and esquires, and the Tudor ordinances and statutes, which endeavored not to abolish indentured retainership but merely to bring the practice more fully under royal control through the granting of royal licenses of dispensation.

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE, COMMONWEALTH, AND IRELAND

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PROFIT AND POWER: A STUDY OF ENGLAND AND THE DUTCH WARS. By Charles Wilson. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1957. Pp. vi, 169. \$5.00.) This work offers a brief, provocative analysis of the interplay of theories, competing interests, and personalities which in the third quarter of the seventeenth century precipitated three wars between England and the Dutch Republic. Unlike Mr. Wilson's earlier work, *Anglo-Dutch Commerce and Finance in the Eighteenth Century*, this book is only indirectly a product of research in archives and manuscript collections. It rests chiefly on the author's familiarity with historical literature and sources in print, Dutch as well as English, for this period. In the preface Wilson states his intention of analyzing why—not how—these wars were fought, but as the "how" persistently intrudes upon the "why," the resulting congestion in the 158 pages of text perhaps explains certain omissions and, in the reviewer's opinion, oversimplifications. The study ends somewhat abruptly with the Treaty of Breda which closed the second war; the third conflict between the sea powers is entirely omitted from consideration presumably because commercial grievances and mercantilist argument had relatively small part

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

in it. The rise of France, which for both England and the United Provinces held naval and commercial as well as political and religious implications, receives scant attention. The emphasis on Dutch adherence to policies of peace and neutrality calls for some shading. Neutrals, Dutch or English, certainly thought well of neutral rights, but when these same neutrals were transformed into belligerents, they were not too strict in respecting those rights. The enjoyment of peace, which not seldom brought with it the carriage of belligerent trade, was certainly not uncongenial to Dutch merchants, but short wars against weak adversaries—Portugal, or East Indian potentates—also held attractive possibilities. I cannot agree with Wilson's insistence that the Dutch government was controlled by "commercial oligarchs." This would be true of Amsterdam and other Dutch municipalities, and equally true of merchant supremacy in London; but in neither country could merchants dictate foreign policy, nor did they hold the chief offices of state or man the embassies. The analyses of the ideas of Thomas Mun and of Pieter de la Court are effectively and cogently presented, but their actual impact on public opinion or on policy making is difficult to establish.

VIOLET BARBOUR, *Vassar College*

WILLIAM WAKE, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, 1657-1737. Volumes I and II. By *Norman Sykes*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. xii, 366; 288. \$15.00 the set.) The outstanding study of the Anglican Church in Georgian England is undoubtedly Norman Sykes's *Church and State in the XVIII Century*, and his recent *Old Priest and New Presbyter* affords a historical analysis of the relationship of the Church of England to other communions. The life of William Wake illustrates and illuminates many of the general points made in these two earlier works. Wake was primate for over twenty years, a noteworthy ecclesiastical historian, and an active exponent of intercommunion and possible union between Anglicans, Gallicans, and continental Protestants. The biography constitutes a definitive study of Wake's public life and work, organized into nine lengthy chapters, each of which is really an exhaustive essay on a different aspect of Wake's career. Chapter II, for example, provides a thorough treatment of the Convocation dispute of Queen Anne's time, and the Bangorian controversy which superseded it in George I's reign is fully explained in chapter VIII. There is a solid chapter on Wake's administration of his two successive dioceses, Lincoln and Canterbury. As in other recent biographies of eighteenth-century bishops (such as those of Nicolson, Sharp, and Tenison), Sykes's evaluation of Wake's episcopate substantiates the conclusion that when Anglican bishops failed to perform their ecclesiastical duties it was more often because of overwork than neglect. Equally informative is the chapter on Wake's political activities. Wake was more of a scholar than a politician, and his religious conservatism soon alienated him from the Whig administration which elevated him to the primacy in 1716. His interest in ecumenical union instead of making him more lenient toward English dissent stiffened his defense of the Anglican monopoly at home. When he voted against the repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts in 1718 he lost favor with both George I and the Whig ministers. For the last eighteen years of his career he was, as he expressed it, "a discarded minister"—replaced by his protégé Gibson (whose life Sykes has also written). In other fields, however, Wake's years as archbishop were more fruitful. He took great interest in the colonial church, in the Irish church, in religious education, and in combatting the growth of skepticism and deism. Professor Sykes discusses each of these subjects; his remarks on Ireland are perhaps the most informative since he has made use of Wake's lengthy correspondence with King, Boulter, and other Irish bishops. Probably the most valuable chapters (IV and VI) deal with Wake's efforts to negotiate a partial union with the Gallican Church, the Reformed Churches

on the Continent, and the Lutherans. Here Sykes breaks new ground, thanks to his extensive study of new sources, both English and continental. Wake hoped to define the fundamental beliefs common to all groups so that, with disagreements confined to nonessentials, the way would be cleared for each to unite with the Church of England. Unfortunately he failed, but Sykes's discussion of Wake's correspondence with such men as Du Pin and Turretini represents an important contribution to the history of the ecumenical movement; it also serves to define with clarity the distinctive characteristics of the Anglican creed and liturgy. This is not a book for the uninitiated, but for the students of the period and especially for students of European as well as English church history it will prove a storehouse of new information and enlightening interpretation.

F. G. JAMES, *Tulane University*

THE GREEN DRAGON: THE LIVES OF BANASTRE TARLETON AND MARY ROBINSON. By *Robert D. Bass*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1957. Pp. viii, 489. \$5.75.) A double biography linking together two figures of outstanding notoriety in their own day has obvious attractions. Professor Bass demonstrates that the allegedly casual relationship between these two, beginning as a bet on Tarleton's part, was actually a continuing love affair lasting fifteen years. One third of the volume relates Tarleton's rise to a lieutenant-colonelcy at twenty-three, when he was Cornwallis' most dreaded cavalryman and favorite subordinate. While the importance of his famed British Legion may be overstressed, "Bloody Tarleton" is revealed as an able raider, courageous but headstrong. Despite the Cowpens defeat, Tarleton returned to England something of a hero following Yorktown. There he met Mary Robinson—wed at fifteen and abandoned, later favorite of the London stage, and erstwhile mistress of the Prince of Wales. Ostentation and gambling debts compounded the tempestuousness of their affair. Mary's considerable literary ability helped Tarleton defend his military record and gain election to Parliament. There he became noted for opposing abolition and as a political turncoat, but for little else. Now partially paralyzed, Mary supported him financially until he left her and married another, whereupon her poems and novels became diatribes. Although Tarleton survived her death by thirty-three years, his later career was anticlimactical. The story is told interestingly, but the book is not without defects. As the narrative jumps back and forth between accounts of Tarleton and Mary, it proves disconnected rather than suspenseful. Revolutionary battle descriptions seem disjointed and sometimes overdetailed; occasionally they are misleading (e.g., at Green Springs, Wayne—not Lafayette—was almost trapped). Good maps are needed, and the portrayals of Gates and Charles Lee are at least open to question. Brutality appears stressed irrespective of pertinence. Tarleton's post-Revolutionary military services were minuscule; why he received continued promotions and eventual knighthood is not made clear. General references are provided for each chapter, but serious students would much prefer specific footnotes documenting debatable assertions. Perhaps this volume's chief virtue is its realistic picture of influence and dissipation in late eighteenth-century London.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN, *Cortland (New York) State Teachers College*

THE CRAWSHAY DYNASTY: A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION AND DEVELOPMENT, 1765-1867. By *John P. Addis*. Foreword by *Sir Frederick Rees*. (Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1957. Pp. xiv, 184. 12s. 6d.) This book's title fits it well. Here is the story of the relationship of the Crawshay family to the industrial organization and development of the Cynfartha ironworks, in the Merthyr area of South Wales. It is not, except by implication, the story of the technological

changes that for a time made Cynfartha the leading ironworks of the world and then passed it by. Nor is it concerned, except again by implication, with the advantageous lease that made possible, for nearly a century, the plowing back of profits into expansion. Instead the book tells the history of the connection between the mining and manufacturing at Cynfartha and the original Crawshay mercantile house at George Yard in London, with the consequent pulling and hauling within the family. Those at George Yard put selling above mining and manufacturing, those at Cynfartha did the reverse, and business disagreements tended to turn into family squabbles. The story is thus the dual one of an ironworks, which uses up a nearby lode of ore until it is exhausted, and a Yorkshire family, which develops from merchant princes, through an industrialist stage, to Welsh country gentry, with a constant overlapping of roles in the process. The basic source material used is the generously provided Crawshay family papers. Because of the book's content, style, and organization, the reader must give it intensive attention in order to get out of it what is there. But if such reading is given it, the book provides an illuminating local case study of certain aspects of the British iron industry.

RICHARD W. HALE, Jr., *Boston University*

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE BOARD OF TRADE, 1830-1855: A STUDY OF ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATION IN THE HEYDAY OF LAISSEZ FAIRE. By *Roger Prouty*. (London: William Heinemann Ltd. 1957. Pp. viii, 123. 15s.) The core of Mr. Prouty's study, and two thirds of his book, concern state control over merchant shipping. As tariffs and navigation laws went out, urgent economic and humanitarian problems came in. By 1850 twenty years of legislation had produced forty-eight statutes involving the government in the administration of the shipping industry. Finally, in 1854, a huge consolidating act of 548 clauses put the whole matter in manageable order and entrusted hitherto somewhat scattered responsibilities almost entirely to the Board of Trade. The Board, earlier mainly consultative, thus became a modern executive department, a ministry of industry, with an establishment increased within a generation from 23 to over 140 persons. This is an interesting and a significant study, written with care from the sources. In a sense it is one of the fruits of J. B. Brebner's seminal paper of 1948 ("Laissez Faire and State Intervention in Nineteenth Century Britain," *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement VIII [1948], 59-73) and well exemplifies the thesis that both laissez faire and state intervention were the products of Britain's adaptation to the basic force of industrialization. While other works on factory legislation and the public health movement have already partly spelled out the story, Prouty has attempted to show not only the changes of opinion, as expressed in legislation, but the actual evolution of an organ of modern government. The reviewer, however, has certain queries. The author starts by leaping lightly over the Board of Trade subjects that have been dealt with by others: free trade, limited liability companies, the railways. He pauses long enough to describe the problem of industrial design as the Board was connected with it, and at page 30 he enters the main stretch. The result is that the reader never gets much idea of the old Board as a going concern and is left until the concluding chapter (and an appendix) to learn something of what the new one really was. Prouty, in view of his limitation to a twenty-five year period, has hardly written the definitive account of merchant shipping legislation, but neither has he produced descriptive administrative history. The result is a study, honest and fruitful in its research, which cannot stand by itself and must be read in association with others. Once again, it seems, we have perplexities arising from the constrictions inherent in the doctorate.

H. D. JORDAN, *Clark University*

BRITISH EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA: PROJECTS AND OPINIONS IN THE EARLY VICTORIAN PERIOD. By *W. S. Shepperson*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1957. Pp. xvi, 302. \$5.00.) "A survey of the underlying dynamic which induced so many people to . . . leave their homeland," Mr. Shepperson rightly suggests, "can contribute to a better understanding of the changing and formative years bridging the mid-nineteenth century." We do need such a study. But unfortunately this account of various ineffectual emigration projects and inconsequential opinions has little to do with the actual emigration of 1837-1860 from Great Britain. The projects, as Shepperson concludes in nearly every case, were "stillborn" or "ill-fated attempts" which "did not materialize"—altogether "an unbroken pattern of . . . failures." He presents nothing to warrant his inference that such activity had any great "psychological effect" or "engendered an emigration climate." His discussion of contemporary opinions in Britain, particularly those of the Manchester school, is in some respects fresh and interesting, but the entire debate induced hardly anyone to emigrate who would not have done so in any event for more urgent reasons. British emigration was indeed, in the typical case, "a self-impelled, personally arranged, and individually financed adventure." The book, however, skips over this mass movement of individuals in a few pages scattered among lengthy chronicles of fraudulent land speculations and feckless theories about shipping the poor to America. On the other hand, if the author's purpose is to probe the ideas of different groups in British society from the standpoint of emigration, he has to concede at the outset that there were "few unusual historical or philosophical concepts underlying the emigration movement." In sum, it is not clear what the author's purpose is—beyond "a recording of information"—in treating these projects and opinions between one set of covers. Neither the plan of organization nor the literary style of the book is very helpful. Most of the chapter titles and subheadings do not mark meaningful divisions of the material. Shepperson does show a gift for aphorism which makes his introductions and conclusions seem more significant than the evidence which is to be found between them. But he also has an odd penchant for misusing words (the Mormon emigrants are praised for their "moral deportation" on shipboard), inappropriate French phrases (a Texas land speculator sends not agents but "*hommes d'affaires*" to England), opaque prose (such as "the hypothetical standpoint of individual self-determination"), and bad grammar. Such defects unfortunately will deter students from attempting to profit from the very extensive research which Shepperson's notes indicate has gone into the book.

ROWLAND BERTHOFF, *Princeton University*

GERMAN INFLUENCE UPON ENGLISH EDUCATION AND SCIENCE, 1800-1866. By *George Haines, IV*. [Connecticut College Monograph Number 6.] (New London: Connecticut College. 1957. Pp. xii, 107. \$3.50.) Under the auspices of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, a committee of scholars recently issued a pamphlet on "The Role of Education in American History." The main point made is that "relative to its importance in the development of American society, the history of education in this country, both in the schoolroom and outside, has been shamefully neglected by American historians." If, instead of confining their attention to the United States, the members of the committee had reported on the role of education in the modern Western world, they would have used even stronger language. For this reason Professor Haines's volume is particularly welcome. Based on wide and critical reading in printed sources, it is a well-organized and thoughtful attempt to trace the influence that German education and science exercised in England during the first two thirds of the nineteenth century. Haines properly stresses the part Scots played in

the transmission of German ideas, and he concludes his volume with two invaluable charts that summarize the educational background of English scientists of the period. Haines's thesis is not novel: some British intellectuals, impressed with German attainments in science and education, urged the English to adapt German ideas and practices to their own needs; for a variety of reasons, however, their agitation had only slight success in the time before the Reform Act of 1867, and this was disastrous for the English economy in an increasingly competitive world. Owing probably to the high cost of publishing monographs, Haines has had to keep his book short. The result is that he has neglected to deal with several themes that have an important bearing on his subject: the economics of education in the pauper-ridden society of the Victorians; the deliberate exaggeration by Germanophiles of the virtues of German education and science; the influence in England of the science and education of other foreign countries, including the United States; and the role of the education question in the chartist, free trade, and other Victorian reform movements. It is to be hoped that Haines will continue his researches in English educational history and that next time his publisher will allow him more space to present his findings. It is also to be hoped that for his next book he will gain access to some of the masses of manuscript material that exist for the subject.

HERMAN AUSUBEL, *Columbia University*

MANCHESTER MERCHANTS AND FOREIGN TRADE. Volume II, 1850-1939. By *Arthur Redford*. [Economic History Series, Volume XV.] (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1956. Pp. xxii, 307. 30s.) Chiefly a record of the opinions and the actions growing out of these opinions of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in the years 1850-1939, this is the second of two volumes on the Manchester Chamber. The first, covering the years 1749-1858, was published in 1934. Professor Redford relies almost entirely upon the minutes and resolutions of the Chamber and its directors for his sources. He tells a straightforward story of what the Chamber voted to do and what was said and thought by its directors. His is an excellent account of policy development in a trade association. The opinions of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on such subjects as cotton import duties in India, the preservation of cotton markets in West Africa, the Manchester Ship Canal, and the economic relations of the manufacturing trades of Manchester with foreign powers are all faithfully recorded. The story, an important one, is told of how the Chamber at times acted as a propaganda agent for the cotton manufacturers and as a pressure organization in Parliament and elsewhere. The reader may be surprised to learn that both the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade were frequently held guilty of neglecting the cotton industry in favor of merchants of other countries. The Chamber of Commerce is revealed as a body of men who held tenaciously to the doctrine of *laissez faire* in spite of clear evidence that the doctrine was not going to be accepted or adapted by most of the world. Through the minutes and resolutions, Redford shows how the Chamber looked at the cotton industry's fall from preeminence. He performs his appointed task well. His book is one of prime interest for the economic historian and in particular the historian interested in studying how a British trade association acts and reflects the collective thinking of an industry.

ROBERT B. ECKLES, *Purdue University*

THE CENTRAL BLUE: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOHN SLESSOR, MARSHAL OF THE RAF. By *Sir John Slessor*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957. Pp. 709. \$7.50.) Sir John Slessor's account of the high level planning and conferences of World War II constitutes a decided contribution to military air history. Ameri-

can historians of the war in the air have yet to achieve a comparable analysis on such a broad scope. This eyewitness account, supplemented either by a prodigious memory or a day-by-day diary, gives one the intimate knowledge so essential to bring to life the bare facts of record. One gets the feeling of peering over the shoulders of the great and near great as they made so many important military decisions. Sir John's account does not escape the superiority complex of an "old hand" in the business of air warfare as he deals with the American latecomer. He does, however, give much credit to American planning, generosity, and military achievements where he sincerely thinks it was due. He properly stresses the technical side of air warfare in his discussions of the difficult modification program needed before factory-built aircraft could become operational. His discussion of the heavy bomber attack against the German industrial system by the Eighth Air Force and the British Bomber Command is too briefly treated. He underestimates the determination of the American air officers, such as General Carl Spaatz and Ira Eaker, to use the daylight bombing attack in place of the night bombing technique of the British Bomber Command. As war historian of the Eighth Air Force, I was convinced that this was the *sine qua non* of American demands. Slessor's descriptive terms are often colorful, particularly where he writes of his personal reactions or those of his close associates. He is frank in such revelations as those found in the description of attempts to gain American sympathy during the early years of the air war in 1939-1940. The book is rather long (678 pages of text), and the crowded printing tends to discourage all but the determined reader. It might well have been divided into two volumes, one to include the early life of Sir John and the development of the RAF up to World War II, the other to include the fine descriptive accounts of the planning, problems, conferences, and combat of the war. Sir John's training and participation in the various phases of command and staff activities of the RAF make him an important authority, particularly in the area of informal meetings and conversations of important political and military leaders. The book should be a necessary part of the reading of historians of World War II.

CECIL O. HAHN, *Southwest Texas State College*

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY SINCE 1898. By M. R. D. Foot. (London: Hutchinson's University Library; distrib. by Rinehart, New York. 1956. Pp. 190. \$1.50.) In this brief survey Mr. Foot, lecturer in politics at Keble College, Oxford, covers the diplomatic history of his country since the turn of the century. After an introductory section on the "Splendid Isolation" of the nineteenth century he devotes successive chapters to the diplomatic revolution of 1898-1907, the Anglo-German tension of the following years, World War I, the period of reconstruction, the Locarno era, the rise of Hitler, appeasement efforts, World War II, and the Cold War up to the summer of 1956. In his treatment of these topics there is, comparatively speaking, much of domestic politics and military history and little of penetrating theoretical analysis or even the details of diplomatic maneuverings. Sir Eyre Crowe, usually considered a key figure in the British diplomacy of the early 1900's, is not so much as mentioned. The work is thus the summary of a public record with which the qualified historian is already familiar. The chief interest of the American professional scholar in such a current British handbook of a standard series is presumably in the author's general point of view. Foot disapproves of appeasement, imperialism, and apartheid. He approves the grant of independence to India and recognizes that "there are still British interests in Asia that need to be amicably liquidated." He frankly states that "Great Britain . . . is no longer among the giant powers" and feels that its "principal remaining strength lies in the moderation and good sense of its electors who ultimately decide its policy." He even musters an occasional kind word for American policy in the Cold War era.

Yet his book is well sprinkled with chauvinistic touches that may reflect a subconscious desire to compensate for the recent change in Britain's international status.

MARSHALL KNAPPEN, *Washington, D. C.*

THE GROWTH OF PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN. By *Moses Abramovitz* and *Vera F. Eliasberg*. [National Bureau of Economic Research, Number 60, General Series.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 150. \$3.75.) This work is considered a parallel study to an earlier one dealing with the United States (Solomon Fabriant, *The Trend of Government Activity in the United States since 1900*) and part of a larger study by the National Bureau of Economic Research directed toward the quantitative growth of government in the recent past. The present purpose is to determine the growth of employment in government service in Great Britain between 1890 and 1950 and to set forth in suitable conjunction with this the historical data that seemed to control or influence changes in the level of employment. Though the study is by nature heavily statistical—there are fifteen tables and ten charts—the text is not as forbidding as this suggests and often gives insights or indicates relationships that will be rewarding to most students of modern Britain. While the basic facts must come largely from official documents and sources, the authors have not been reluctant to go beyond and to bring into the net anything that could be serviceable. Where figures must be obtained by splicing sources this willingness has been well repaid. The reader will, nonetheless, be somewhat surprised to find how difficult it is to arrive at a quantitative answer to apparently simple questions. In all studies of this sort a troublesome matter is that of handling the figures for the armed services; this particular study has an additional major problem in dealing with the employees of the recently nationalized industries and services. The authors have handled these latter problems in such a way that the reader, with a few calculations of his own, can leave in or take out both categories of persons. The results are not only clear but useful in providing the basis for other and more particular computations. But quantities are not all. Where the figures take some significant turn an effort is made to give the social, economic, or political reasons for the change. The study is thus given depth and becomes much more than disciplined rows of figures or a broken line on a chart. There is a successful unity of the quantitative material with interpretive insight into the significance of the rather complex data. The high degree of care and skill assures the reliability of the results; the study makes easily accessible material that could previously only be obtained by the expenditure of an almost unjustifiable amount of energy. The usefulness of the study will be demonstrated by its early and frequent appearance in footnotes and bibliographies.

JAMES L. GODFREY, *University of North Carolina*

EDWARD BLAKE, IRISH NATIONALIST: A CANADIAN STATESMAN IN IRISH POLITICS, 1892-1907. By *Margaret A. Banks*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 370. \$5.50.) In 1892, after a successful career in Canadian politics as Prime Minister of Ottawa and leader of the Liberal Opposition in Parliament, Edward Blake entered the British House of Commons as an anti-Parnellite Home Ruler. The object of Margaret Banks's book is to indicate that, although Blake's Irish activities (1892-1907) were less spectacular than his Canadian accomplishments, in a quiet way he did much to hold the Irish party together and further the Home Rule cause. To support her thesis, the author offers the following evidence: Blake contributed to and raised funds for the Irish party when it was on the verge of bankruptcy; Liberal ministers consulted the Canadian statesman when constructing the

second Home Rule bill; Blake was a confidant of Justin McCarthy, John Dillon, and John Redmond and his advice was reflected in party policy and strategy; he drafted the proposals that eventually united Parnellites with anti-Parnellites and was instrumental in forcing Dillon to negotiate with Redmond and Healy. Blake emerges from Miss Banks's book as the most stable and least ambitious of the Home Rule leaders. Unfortunately he was often the victim of Tim Healy's unscrupulous attempts to dethrone the Canadian's friend Dillon. These quarrels among Irish nationalists offended Blake's oversensitive nature and on several occasions almost persuaded him to resign from the party. This well-organized book is an excellent example of expert integration of newspaper and manuscript sources. In the first two chapters, however, the author places too much reliance on Canadian newspapers, which were naturally inclined to exaggerate Blake's importance, to prove that Blake was expected by many Irish and English leaders to take command of the Irish party. As a biographical study, Miss Banks's book never distorts the background to overemphasize the subject. Readers interested in modern Irish and English political history will find her discussion of the inner workings of the Irish party interesting and useful.

LAWRENCE J. McCaffrey, *College of St. Catherine*

NOTICES AND VOYAGES OF THE FAMED QUEBEC MISSION TO THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. Edited and translated by *Carl Landerholm*. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society. 1956. Pp. iv, 243. \$12.50.) This book is a translation of a series of printed reports of activities of early Catholic missionaries in the Pacific Northwest, first published in French under the title *Rapports sur les Missions du Diocèse de Québec qui sont secourues par l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* (Quebec, 1839-47). The original Canadian publications included reports from all the missionaries supported by the Diocese of Quebec, in various parts of Canada as well as in the Far West. A translation made twenty years ago by Tess E. Jennings under the auspices of the WPA and the University of Washington Library has remained unpublished. Mr. Landerholm and the Oregon Historical Society have rendered a most welcome service by presenting here a new printed translation of the reports of those missionaries who were sent to the Oregon country. The documents are excellent primary source material; they contain either the full text or extended excerpts from a number of letters written by François Blanchet, Modeste Demers, and Jean Baptiste Bolduc during the years 1838-1847 when the endeavors of Christian missionaries were most significant. Through their writings these men become real persons for the present generation. Sometimes they are heroic; sometimes they are very human in their fears and uncertainties, their prejudices and hatreds. Always they are loyal and dedicated to the purposes they came to serve. In these pages we accompany them through many exertions and adventures, sharing moments of elation and discouragement. Not only do we feel a personal acquaintance with the men themselves, but we also sense the challenge of ministering to souls who knew not the Christian's God and the immense burden that was theirs when the task was great and the workers all too few. The volume, one of the best artistic achievements of a West Coast publisher, is produced and priced for the collector. Because of its limited edition. (1,000 copies) it cannot become generally available to the many readers who might otherwise enjoy and profit by a reading of it. This is a source of regret which perhaps may be remedied by a popular edition later. The reviewer could wish that the editorial policy adopted had made provision for an adequate annotation of the documents presented. Neither title page nor introduction explains exactly what is old and what is new, and bibliographic citations are lacking to indicate plainly just what materials are being printed. The book

is indexed, but one page of footnotes is no more than a gesture when it comes to identifying persons and places and explaining unclear terms.

CHARLES M. GATES, *University of Washington*

CANADA'S ARCTIC OUTLET: A HISTORY OF THE HUDSON BAY RAILWAY.

By *Howard A. Fleming*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LIV.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. 129. Cloth \$3.50, paper \$2.50.) The Hudson Bay Railway has played a role in modern Canadian history well out of proportion to its immediate, or perhaps even its potential, significance in Canada's transportation system. Long the dream of those who saw in it, at the least, an outlet for the products of Canada's prairies far closer to European markets than the St. Lawrence route, it was also an issue and a goal in provincial and, occasionally, in federal politics from the time of Sir John A. Macdonald to that of Mackenzie King. Its construction was a triumph over inertia and the determined opposition of rival railroads and routes, as well as over muskeg and swamp. In this monograph, Mr. Fleming has told the story of one of the most colorful and unusual of North American railways from the beginning of the movement to provide the Canadian West with an outlet to Hudson Bay through the construction of the line and its operation to 1950. He has developed his account of the Bay Railway against both its political and economic background and has used such sources as the Macdonald and Laurier papers and the files of the Canadian Department of Railways and Canals to supplement a considerable list of pamphlet and periodical material. Limitations of space, and perhaps also of opportunity, have resulted in some weaknesses in this otherwise useful study. Where the author has felt obliged to deal with general history, the necessities of condensation have sometimes had curious results, among them the implication that the risings of 1837 were caused mainly by religious differences. Such characters as Lord Selkirk and Louis Riel appear without introduction or explanation, and the author's designation of Canadian political leaders is somewhat uncertain. His failure to use the *Winnipeg Free Press*, or, indeed, any other Western newspapers, seems strange in view of the nature of the subject. Both the specialist and the general reader would find interesting a concluding estimate of the effect of the building of the St. Lawrence Seaway on the future of the Hudson Bay route. In any case, this book is a timely addition both to Canadian economic history and to the unfolding story of the Canadian West.

ALICE R. STEWART, *University of Maine*

ALEXANDER BEGG'S RED RIVER JOURNAL AND OTHER PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE RED RIVER RESISTANCE OF 1869-1870.

Edited with an introduction by *W. L. Morton*. [Publications of the Champlain Society, XXXIV.] (Toronto: the Society. 1956. Pp. xxiii, 636, xvi. Members only.) This volume is made up of three distinct sections: Professor Morton's introduction, *Begg's Journal*, and documents relating to the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870. This reviewer believes that Morton, in his introduction, has given us the most thoughtful, balanced, and penetrating analysis of the causative factors involved in the Red River troubles of this period available to historians today. He has based his work solidly upon the documents and upon secondary literature. With respect to the latter, he has made his own independent and strongly based judgments. In particular he has disagreed with G. F. G. Stanley (*The Birth of Western Canada* [London, 1936] and *Louis Riel: Patriot or Rebel* [Ottawa, 1954]), who apparently did not use the *Begg Journal* and who saw the métis resistance as "a war . . . between plough and prairie." Morton holds that: "Red River was not a frontier, but an island of civilization in the wilderness. It was the offspring of the

fur frontier, which was not, as was the agricultural frontier, a conflict of civilization and barbarism, but a partnership of trader and native." This partnership, of which the métis were the result, made the Red River "a community unique in both history and character." Further, the métis regarded themselves as a "new nation," which sought from the Canadian government a guarantee of its rights "as a community of civilized people." The Canadian government was willing to grant to the people of the Northwest the well-understood rights of British subjects viewed as individuals. It had no conception of dealing with a "new nation." Morton concludes: "It is in this conflict between the half-articulated demand for *corporate* rights by the métis, and the intention of the Canadian authorities to grant *individual* rights in due course, that the true character of the Resistance is to be found." The *Journal* itself is a day-by-day account of the proceedings in Winnipeg from November 16, 1869, to July 23, 1870. Begg writes loosely, carelessly, but acutely. The *Journal* has the full flavor of a contemporary account. Morton's reconstruction of the events of the winter of 1869-1870 in his introduction is much more sequential and clear than Begg's account of them, but in Begg there is the excitement of the primary source. The editor has spared no pains to identify persons and clarify obscurities in the text of the *Journal*. More than one third of this volume is made up of the reproduction of selective documents; the editor has cited these most effectively in his own introduction, so that, rather than being a detached sort of appendix, they become an integral part of the whole work. This volume will certainly take an honored place among the publications of the Champlain Society.

G. E. BROWN, *University of Michigan*

GOLDWIN SMITH, VICTORIAN LIBERAL. By *Elisabeth Wallace*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1957. Pp. x, 297. \$5.00.) The interest of Goldwin Smith's career lies not so much in his achievements as in his expression of a decidedly individual yet somewhat typical nineteenth-century liberalism. Miss Wallace's competent and instructive biography, which narrates his life story in the first half of the book and analyzes his ideas in the second half, gives us a generally sympathetic picture of an eager, if superficial, mind, a somewhat prickly, yet lovable, personality, a stirrer-up of little tempests. He candidly admitted that he was basically a journalist. Repeatedly declining to seek a career in public office or in parliament, he devoted his life to an unceasing advocacy of the many liberal causes he had at heart. As a professor of history at Oxford and Cornell he was something of a propagandist. His books on American and British history were essentially pamphlets dedicated to the purpose of teaching morals and politics. Essays for the reviews, full-scale books, and innumerable letters to influential people and to the newspapers (often quite obscure newspapers) of Britain, the United States, and Canada flowed from his pen with an exuberant readiness. Of course, in perspective his views about colonies have seemed the most significant. In championing colonial separatism, Goldwin Smith was expressing a well-recognized idea of conventional liberalism, but from the time he left England in 1868 he coupled with this the project of uniting Canada with the United States. Undoubtedly in this he offended the increasingly patriotic Canadians of Toronto, among whom he lived for over forty years. A person who makes a practice of persistently expressing his views in public must expect opposition, but Goldwin Smith, on this as on other subjects, never lost his audience. It seems something of an exaggeration, therefore, for our author to develop his unpopularity as a minor theme throughout his career. To anyone interested in the workings of the human mind, Goldwin Smith is an instructive study. He had opinions, usually downright opinions, on everything, and was never at a loss to find good, and especially moral, grounds for what he thought. His incon-

sistencies, some of which are assembled in a paragraph on page 160, were plentiful and even gross, but they are partly accounted for by the normal evolution proper to a public career of six decades. A person of such verbosity is bound to provide stubborn material for a historian. Miss Wallace has organized and analyzed it with remarkable skill.

CHESTER H. KIRBY, *Brown University*

THE ANATOMY OF SOUTH AFRICAN MISERY. By C. W. de Kiewiet. [The Whidden Lectures, 1956.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1956. Pp. viii, 87. \$1.75.) The sponsors of the Whidden Lectures at McMaster University made a happy inaugural choice in these by Dr. C. W. de Kiewiet. His choice of the scalpel of classical liberalism for dissecting the theory and actuality of apartheid inevitably has made him deny its fundamental premise of an unbridgeable gulf between whites and nonwhites. In trenchant phrases de Kiewiet demonstrates how technology, industrialization, and urbanization have ended the validity of racial criteria as cultural indicators. Political action seeking to strengthen these criteria is thus futile and dangerous to whites and nonwhites alike. Although fully recognizing the difficulties, de Kiewiet urges South African whites for their own survival to throw over traditional racial attitudes so that "Europeans" of all races can cooperate in developing the country to its high potential and in avoiding a racial conflict of benefit to no one. Whether such a drastic psychological shift is now possible is problematical. Although the lectures carry the unspoken inference that apartheid is largely an Afrikaner tradition, the English approve it and were largely responsible for its significant extension into industry in the sequence of the Rand Rebellion, the Pact, and subsequent color bar legislation. The frame of reference advocated by de Kiewiet is the exclusive property of the small Liberal party, whose founders and leaders are Afrikaners. They have pointed out that if ten million nonwhites were truly self-sufficient, two million whites would be left with each other's washing.

COLIN RHYS LOVELL, *University of Southern California*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop¹

L'ÉCONOMIE MONDIALE ET LES FRAPPES MONÉTAIRES EN FRANCE, 1493-1680. By *Frank C. Spooner*. [École Pratique des hautes études, VI^e section. Centre de recherches historiques. Monnaie, Prix, Conjoncture, Volume IV.] (Paris: Armand Colin, 1956. Pp. 544, 29 plates.) This work provides four first-rate additions to the field of French economic history. It gives us, first, two hundred pages of tables on the year-by-year output of all the important French mints. Second, by demonstrating how both the proportion of gold and silver struck and the total level of coinage varied from one area to another, Mr. Spooner adds another facet to our appreciation of the regional diversity of the French economy. Third, there is an interesting if not completely convincing "stage theory" of money, with 1493-1550, 1550-1607, and 1607-1680 marking gold, silver, and copper "phases." Fourth, the book contains the first adequate treatment of the economic importance of French copper coinage. All this is presented in an impressive job of bookmaking, containing sixty-four elaborate graphs and maps (I was especially taken with the cleverly drawn map-graphs in chapter IV showing the "monetary geography" of France for each decade) and photographs of seventy-two different coins. Impressive also are Spooner's ability to use publications in no less than eleven languages and the huge body of archival materials he has employed. The author's chief purpose seems to be to show that the fluctuating volume of coinage, the varying proportions of the metals, and the sharp regional differences should be used to revise our ideas on prices, price policy, interest rates, early modern monetary theory, and almost every topic of economic history in this period. He himself touches on many of these points to indicate the directions in which such revisions could proceed, and some of his ideas are quite valuable. But the usefulness of his book is marred by the confusing presentation of its arguments and the irritating, metaphor plagued style of

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

the translation. Many dense paragraphs require second and third readings, and too often precisely the most wearisome passages have the least to say. Important as Spooner's statistics are, his use of them is not always careful; the level of copper coinage for the period 1578 to 1600, for example, is portrayed as important in some tables but seems to be lower or entirely missing in others. In discussing the relations between monetary developments and the economy, he does not emphasize sufficiently that coinage is not the same as the volume of money in circulation, nor does he make enough of the fact that some coinage was not attributable to "economic demand" but was primarily a function of political events (like the coinage of the Catholic League) or of the treasury's requirements (income from seigniorage or from sales of offices in the mints). This is not an easy book to digest, but all specialists in the field will have to make the effort.

MARTIN WOLFE, *University of Pennsylvania*

PORT-ROYAL ENTRE LE MIRACLE ET L'OBEISSANCE: FLAVIE PASSART ET ANGÉLIQUE DE ST-JEAN ARNAULD D' ANDILLY. By *Jean Orcibal*. ([Bruges]: Desclée de Brouwer. 1957. Pp. 195.) This fresh and penetrating monograph is not the promised continuation of Jean Orcibal's magistral multivolume study of *Les Origines du Jansénisme*, but rather leaps ahead a generation to probe the personalities of two nuns who figured prominently in the controversy which in 1664-1665 split the Port-Royal community. Angélique de Saint-Jean Arnauld d'Andilly, of the proud and intelligent family which figured so prominently in the whole Jansenist movement, became leader of the group which refused to sign an anti-Jansenist formulary without reservations. Catherine de Sainte-Flavie Passart, whose miraculous cures and visions had attracted much attention, was a leader of the minority who did sign. The dramatic clash between these two and the traces of religious hysteria in Flavie provide a natural subject for Orcibal who, as usual, is more interested in personalities than in doctrines. He studies these nuns in two ways: through orthodox biography and by psychological analysis. His biographies are brilliant and convincing reconstructions, indeed something of a tour de force, since obviously partisan records compiled by Angélique de Saint-Jean must provide the principal source. These he has studied with impressively critical care, supplementing them where possible with information gleaned from letters newly discovered in French and Dutch archives and from contemporary histories. It is in analysis of the nuns' somewhat abnormal psychologies, however, that Orcibal finds the real explanation of the events. His analyses use terminology and analytical principles developed by Luchien Jerphagnon and other French scholars. They are straightforward and generally plausible, but strike this amateur as being the work of another amateur. The book's lack of bibliography is partially redeemed by copious notes. Some will regret the modernization of the French in several of the supporting documents printed for the first time in its appendixes; more will regret the incomplete collation of the variant copies of one of these texts.

ROBERT M. KINGDON, *State University of Iowa*

NAPOLÉON: DIE HUNDERT TAGE. By *Friedrich Sieburg*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1956. Pp. 435. DM 16.80.) Friedrich Sieburg is a German man of letters who has spent much of his life abroad and served as foreign correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in England, France, Africa, and the Far East. The score of books he has written include poetry, fiction, travel impressions, biography, and history. Several attained wide popularity and some have been translated into half a dozen languages. The present volume covers considerably more than the events of the Hundred Days. It is an assessment of Napoleon's character and personality, his place in

history, and the impression he made on his contemporaries. Based on a broad rather than a profound knowledge of the sources, it interprets the effect Napoleon's genius and leadership had on those who served and those who opposed him. As the jacket justly observes: "Die Frage, wieviel dem Glück der Völker mit übergrossen Männern gedient ist, zieht sich durch das ganze Buch." Although analogies with the recent career of Hitler are never explicitly drawn, the sympathy Sieburg shows for the French marshals is significant. Like Hitler's generals, many of Napoleon's loyal followers found themselves in a dilemma when the emperor's egotism became inimical to the interests of the nation. His return from Elba put their faith and judgment to a final test, and his fortune "corrupted honest men." Sieburg's moving and metaphorical style is better suited to the popular taste than to a cold analysis of historical facts. While he concedes Napoleon's mesmeric influence he depicts the man himself as repellently cold and calculating. "Die ganze Legende strahlt im Glanz der versinkenden Sonne, aber das Herz bleibt verschlossen." It was not the French Revolution alone that created the opportunity for the Corsican's meteoric career; the intellectual and emotional currents of the age favored him, as Sieburg emphasizes. Napoleon played with equal success on the eighteenth-century faith in rationalism and order and on the limitless aspirations implicit in the dawning romantic movement. He utilized the chauvinistic nationalism that the Revolution intensified in French hearts and manipulated an unequaled army and its experienced leaders to extend his personal despotism. The author is consistent in his conclusion that the emperor's flirtation with liberalism during the Hundred Days was an insincere pose that he would have repudiated at the first opportunity. *Napoleon: Die Hundert Tage* is entertaining, eloquent, and generally sound in its interpretation of men and events, but it makes use of no new material and adds nothing novel to the vast literature on Napoleon.

GEOFFREY BRUUN, *Ithaca, New York*

LA BELGIQUE DEVANT LA FRANCE DE JULLET: L'OPINION ET L'ATTITUDE FRANÇAISES DE 1839 À 1848. By *Henry-Thierry Deschamps*. [Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CXXXVII.] (Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres." 1956. Pp. c, 561, 15.) To try to evaluate the "opinion and attitude" of one people toward another in a given era is a task at best fraught with difficulties. But the difficulties are compounded when, as is the case with this work, such an attempt concerns the outlook of the inhabitants of a powerful, established nation like France in mid-nineteenth century toward a newly founded lesser state such as Belgium. The historian, if he is a judicious scholar as M. Deschamps unquestionably is, is likely to emerge with the conclusion that the French were for the most part poorly informed about conditions existing in the new Belgian state and that their attitudes were therefore varied, erratic, and inconsistent even within a given segment of the population. Such is in fact the conclusion that Deschamps somewhat reluctantly reaches in the course of his massive study, though he succeeds in isolating some of the basic problems on which the French did hold views with respect to Belgium and in dispelling some misconceptions which had hitherto existed in this field. An example of the latter is his argument that the failure of France and Belgium to achieve a customs union in the early 1840's was owing not so much to the opposition of other European powers (as had been previously supposed) but rather to the strong objections of French industrialists who saw in such a union a threat to their own interests. Indeed, one of the author's major findings is that the material interests of French businessmen played an important part in determining the policy of Louis Philippe's ministers towards Belgium, though the government would have preferred in more than one instance to adopt a different line.

Deschamps defines public opinion at the outset as the attitude of those citizens who exercised a legal or actual influence on the operation of affairs of state, but he relies perhaps a little too heavily on the periodical press in attempting to discover the expression of such opinion. Nevertheless, one of the more valuable parts of the book is a preliminary section of forty pages containing a detailed classification of the French political press under the July Monarchy.

CHARLES BREUNIG, *Lawrence College*

GASLIGHT AND SHADOW: THE WORLD OF NAPOLEON III, 1851-1870. By *Roger L. Williams*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 321. \$5.50.) The professional historian's first reaction to this book probably will be antagonistic. Its title, sensational and misleading, suggests the shadow of a prostitute under a street lamp and, by extension, a lurid and dissolute Second Empire. Not only will the historian question the soundness of the biographical approach, but in this case he must question the choice of characters. No one can quarrel with the inclusion of Morny, Montalembert, Offenbach, Saint-Beuve, Duruy, Courbet, and Ollivier. Persigny and Castiglione, however, do not deserve inclusion in this court of honor, and Pasteur is better associated with the Third Republic. Nowhere are portraits of Rouher, Eugenie, Haussmann, Chevalier, De Lesseps, Fould, Prince Napoleon, Walewski, Proudhon, Comte, the Péreires, James Rothschild, or Princess Mathilda. Thus economics, engineering, and philosophy are minimized in the very selection of people. What is quite as disappointing is the treatment of foreign policy, so important for France and Europe in this period. Instead of a foreign minister, the Countess of Castiglione is made to be the dubious focal point of diplomacy—only to be betrayed by the author himself when he doubts her influence. While Williams does not stint his criticism of his other characters, he seems blind to the unfitness of Ollivier in foreign affairs, his naïve pro-Prussian policy, his silly unilateral disarmament, and his failure to show clearly to the world Prussia's deliberate flouting of international custom in the Hohenzollern candidacy. And yet the further the critic reads the more impressed he becomes with what is an extremely skillful blend of character sketches, biographies, and sound, impartial history. "Gaslight and Shadows" recede into the background, and the "World of Napoleon III" begins to stand out in clear daylight. As a whole the author gives us a critical, objective, and yet sympathetic treatment of the entire Second Empire. Napoleon III, perforce, is prominent in all the chapters; in line with the current trend of revision, he and his regime receive a just treatment, even though their faults and weaknesses are not spared. The young author has done wide reading and has given us an amazingly perceptive synthesis in a most spritely and well-controlled style. As a final evaluation, this reader, at least, confesses a change of heart. This is descriptive, analytical, and readable history at its best—an amazingly good first book from a young author of whom we can expect much in the future. For student reading on the period the volume will prove to be a delightful and rewarding requirement.

LYNN M. CASE, *University of Pennsylvania*

HISTOIRE POLITIQUE DE LA TROISIÈME RÉPUBLIQUE. Tome II, LA GRANDE GUERRE (1914-1918). By *Georges Bonnefous*. Preface by *André Siegfried*. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1957. Pp. xii, 474. 1,800 fr.) This second volume of M. Bonnefous' work has precisely the same virtues and shortcomings as its predecessor (*AHR*, LXII [October, 1956], 132). In some ways, the author belongs in the tradition of the old-time annalists rather than that of the modern critical historians. His book is a careful, judicious, and rather colorless summary of the French parliament's ac-

tivity during the First World War. It is what the French call an *instrument de travail*, a work of reference, not an interpretive or literary piece. Within its chosen range it succeeds quite well, and perhaps there will be scholars or politicians to whom it will be useful. Yet one can only continue to wonder why most potential users would not prefer to go directly to the *Journal Officiel*, from which the essence of the book is abstracted. On rare occasions, Bonnefous does indulge in a bit of personal reminiscing, and he enriches the story by drawing on the published memoirs of French wartime politicians. But he ignores entirely—even to the point of omitting them from his bibliography—such important monographs as J. C. King's *Generals and Politicians* that come to grips with the central questions of political life in wartime France. Bonnefous seems to believe that, on balance, parliament's attempts to supervise the cabinet and the high command contributed to the victory; but he recognizes that parliament's activity was sometimes abusive and that its function ought to have been better defined and organized. There are occasional piquant details (such as Marcel Cachin's comment on Lenin's return to Russia), and there are some lapses from objectivity (as in Bonnefous' unreconstructed attitude on the German thirst for war in 1914). The author died as this volume was going to press; his son proposes to complete the series with two further volumes on the interwar years.

GORDON WRIGHT, *Stanford University*

L'ÉTRANGE DÉFAITE: TÉMOIGNAGE ÉCRIT EN 1940 SUIVI DES ÉCRITS CLANDESTINS, 1942-1944. By Marc Bloch. Preface by Georges Altman. (Rev. ed.; Paris: Albin Michel, 1957. Pp. 262. 570 fr.) Marc Bloch's poignant essay on the fall of France, written during the weeks that immediately followed the disaster, has already won recognition as a kind of minor classic. It is curious that the American scholarly reviews completely ignored the original edition of the book when it appeared in 1946 and likewise passed over in silence its English translation (*Strange Defeat*, tr. by Gerard Hopkins [London, 1949]). That the *American Historical Review* should find space to mention this new augmented edition a decade after its first appearance comes as a kind of belated justice both to a remarkable book and to a remarkable Frenchman. Marc Bloch, as a medievalist of great eminence, understood the perils of writing eyewitness history. Yet something in him—perhaps his years of training as an analyst of the human past, perhaps his innate lucidity and toughness of mind—enabled him to surmount those dangers. We know much today about Hitler's western blitz, and about France's failure to respond to the challenge, that could not be known to a freshly demobilized captain in 1940. We can rise above that *belle rage* that inspired Bloch's prose and attain a more serene objectivity. Nevertheless, it remains doubtful whether any single book surpasses *L'Étrange défaite* as a commentary on France's disaster in 1940. Bloch's assessment of responsibilities, both military and civilian, both individual and collective, bears up remarkably well in longer perspective. Most striking of all is the fact that a book on such a subject, a book so unsparing in its judgments, can leave the reader with a sense of confidence and hope. Any nation that can produce Marc Blochs, and that is willing to listen to them, is likely to survive even worse tragedies than that of 1940. And any profession that can attract men of Bloch's sanity, wisdom, and moral courage can be assured of its own future.

GORDON WRIGHT, *Stanford University*

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C. J. Bishko

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Gordon Griffiths

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NORTHERN EUROPE

Oscar J. Falnes¹

SUOMEN HISTORIAALLINEN BIBLIOGRAFIA, 1926-1950. Compiled by J. Vallinkoski and Henrik Schauman. [Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Käsikirjoja IV: 2.] (Helsinki: the Society. 1956. Pp. vi, 628.) This bibliography of Finnish historical works appearing in the second quarter of the twentieth century is here concluded in a second volume (see notice of Vol. I in *AHR*, LXII [January, 1957], 455). It deals mainly with biography and genealogy, cultural history, local history, and the history of Finns abroad. The total of items listed is well over twenty thousand.

O. J. F.

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Fritz T. Epstein¹

LIBERALES DENKEN IM ZEITALTER DER PAULSKIRCHE: DROYSEN UND DIE FRANKFURTER MITTE. By Wolfgang Hock. [Neue münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung, edited by Kurt von Raumer, Band 2.] (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1957. Pp. 177. Cloth DM 14, paper DM 12.) The present study is a limited contribution to the history of the German liberal movement of the nineteenth century. It is limited in the first place to the views of liberals as expressed in their writings and speeches, though it attempts by an intensive exploitation of these sources to counteract the tendency to overgeneralization by showing the nuances and differences as well as the similarity of ideas. It is limited in the second place to the study of a selected group of men who moved in what the author describes as the "moderate liberalism of 1848," with Johann Gustav Droysen as the most significant and representative. The revolution of 1848 gave these men the opportunity to participate in political life, and for most of them, it was their greatest experience. Their inability to transmute their ideas into effective political action forced most of them to reconsider and modify their values. The first chapter examines the "literary" background of the members of the group, especially their reactions to Hegel, Goethe, and Schiller. The second deals with the development of their interest in politics, which became intense and even dominant in the 1840's, and presents their attitudes toward "the people," individualism, and the bureaucratic state. The third develops the theme that although they did not accept much of the German idealistic philosophy of the early nineteenth century, they were idealistic in the broader sense of the word. Above all, they believed in morality (*Sittlichkeit*) in public as in private affairs. The fourth chapter, with the characteristic title "*Macht und Recht*," shows how the pressure of practical problems modified their understanding of the role of power and brought into the foreground their latent idealization of the state, and how in varying degrees they struggled with the dilemma of morality and power in politics. It was not too difficult for most of them to accept the idea that if the state was to embody *Sittlichkeit* and *Recht*, it must also have the necessary *Macht*.

LAWRENCE D. STEEFEL, *University of Minnesota*¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

KURD VON SCHLÖZER: BRIEFE EINES DIPLOMATEN—PARIS, PETERSBURG, ROM, MEXIKO, WASHINGTON. Selected and edited by *Heinz Flügel*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1957. Pp. 478.) The decision to print a new selection of the Kurd von Schlözer correspondence is to be commended. The considerable interest shown at the time of the original publication of the letters, in several volumes between 1912 and 1924, prompted Heinz Flügel to acquaint yet another generation with this diplomat's absorbing comments on nineteenth-century politics and culture. Schlözer was born in Lübeck in 1822, the grandson of the Göttingen Russian scholar August Ludwig Schlözer. After originally preparing for an academic career at Göttingen, Bonn, and Berlin, he entered the Prussian diplomatic service in 1850. He served in various capacities abroad and played, at the Vatican post, an active role in terminating the crisis engendered by the *Kulturkampf*. This single-volume selection is of necessity uneven, and the Rome correspondence of Schlözer's first tour (1864-1869) makes up the bulk of it. There are only seven letters for the period 1872 to 1881, terminal point of the collection. It is regrettable that the Washington letters are so sparse; the trenchant comments one finds only whet the appetite. Clearly, the editor is justified in basing the selection on the European political and cultural scene, with which Schlözer was so well acquainted. One focal point of the correspondence is the Prussian diplomacy, as reflected in the relationship between the author and Bismarck. A severe critic at first, Schlözer became in time an admiring and loyal associate of the chancellor. However, political matters constitute but one aspect of the correspondence; the record of his diverse intellectual and cultural activities and of his association with leading statesmen, artists, and scholars may prove far more fascinating to the reader. In giving us a glimpse into an era gone by, the letters of Kurd von Schlözer prove to be an informative *Wegweiser*.

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER, *University of Vermont*

THE HOLSTEIN PAPERS. Volume II, DIARIES. Edited by *Norman Rich* and *M. H. Fisher*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1957. Pp. xix, 404. \$8.50.) [German edition published by Musterschmidt Verlag, Göttingen.] "The fact," wrote Friedrich von Holstein in 1884, "that I do occasionally show any initiative at all, after more than twenty years of Bismarck's discipline, shows how dogged I am." It is clear from these *Diaries*, the second volume to be published from the famous Holstein *Nachlass*, that as the Bismarck regime neared its end Holstein showed more and more initiative—mediating, influencing, interceding, working for what he considered the best interests of both Bismarck and the German Reich. For example, in 1886 with Paul Hatzfeldt he pushed through the anti-Russian Mediterranean agreements among England, Italy, Austria, and Spain. These Bismarck accepted and made use of, but when Bismarck balanced them with a secret treaty promising Russia Constantinople and the Straits, Holstein was mystified and disgusted. Even the ablest minds on Bismarck's team did not understand his policy. This failure was mostly Bismarck's. He was jealous of everyone and never revealed his motives. The aging Bismarck is here freshly revealed in a way that goes far to explain his sudden fall in 1889-1890. This volume, which ends in 1888, is a fragment, but unlike many collections of the period such as the Eulenburg papers it is frank and unexpurgated. The editors have been able to add pertinent details from the Foreign Ministry files, such as the very interesting brief of Bismarck's against Alexander von Battenberg. With this volume it is clear that the papers will be not only a mandatory supplement to the *Grosse Politik* but also an important source in themselves. The published volumes increase in importance. These *Diaries* are much more valuable than the *Memoirs*, and the two planned volumes of *Correspondence* will be better yet. But the *Diaries* will remain an interesting and frank

record, full of human interest. Relations among Bismarck, his subordinates, his sons, Bleichröder, the kaiser, and the crown prince, the future Wilhelm II, are candidly depicted. The crown prince and his English wife are revealed more clearly than ever before. Few persons come off very well. Holstein learned from his master Bismarck to look for people's weaknesses, not their virtues; in the ruthless game of power such things may be vital. Holstein was a keen observer. History will quarrel with few of his judgments. Naturally, in writing of others, he reveals much about himself. In the Berlin of the decadent *fin de siècle* he emerges as one of the few really strong characters. Highly sensitive but with passionate determination, he fought vigorously to preserve his independence and self-respect—always a difficult thing under a dictator—and he succeeded. The price he paid was loneliness and eccentricity. He himself quotes the criticism that he tended to see people as either all white or all black; in foreign policy he tended to regard nations as either friends or enemies. He seems to have had an essentially military cast of mind and gave great heed to the advice of military men. He criticized Bismarck because he had "lost the initiative he had in 1866." Old Bismarck, like Fafner in *Siegfried*, wanted merely to hold on to his gains; men of the younger generation, like Holstein, saw further conquests. Bismarck, for his own reasons, had fashioned a nation, and the nation outgrew him.

J. ALDEN NICHOLS, *Braintree, Massachusetts*

KRUPP UND DIE HOHENZOLLERN: AUS DER KORRESPONDENZ DER FAMILIE KRUPP, 1850-1916. Edited by *Willi Boelcke*. (Berlin: Rütten und Loening for Deutsches Zentralarchiv, Merseburg. 1956. Pp. vi, 162.) This publication of documents sponsored by the Deutsches Zentralarchiv at Merseburg, where the editor is employed as archivist, deserves attention for two reasons: it offers new authentic information on the history of the house of Krupp and on its much discussed connections with the house of Hohenzollern and it gives us access to a new, even though modest, part of the documentary material stored behind the Iron Curtain. Since this collection is based primarily on official Prussian records and on the private papers of a series of high officials, both deposited at the former Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv (now kept at Merseburg), and since it does not include material from the Krupp business archives, it cannot claim to give anything like a complete picture of the problem it deals with—a fact which the editor, a diligent scholar, would be the last to deny. But if the user is not looking for the kind of information the editor has thus excluded and is not afraid to inhale a big whiff of the Byzantine air created by what the editor correctly calls the symbiosis between the *Kanonenkönigtum* and its crowned customers, he will find himself rewarded by the discovery of a series of valuable pieces. An example is Document 41, a report of the Prussian minister of war Von Verdy du Vernois of July 20, 1890, in which the minister says clearly that the Krupp monopoly forces the state to pay the firm any price Krupp desires. This report, typically enough, was sent to the kaiser from Bad Gastein; the editor evidently failed to see that Von Verdy about three weeks earlier had been dismissed because of his collusion with Krupp. Perhaps the second most interesting document is Number 99, which contains Krupp von Bohlen's war aims of 1915. What does not, and cannot, emerge from this limited collection is the picture of the daily "routine" connections between the big firm and the German Reich and the direct influence exercised by Krupp in international affairs, such as the German participation in the intervention against Japan after Shimonoseki, the first Moroccan crisis, and the Liman von Sanders affair. This type of information is now coming to light in abundance through the microfilming of all German Foreign Office documents for the period 1870-1914. The fact must also be

stressed that the case of Krupp should not be overrated. As a kaiser-sponsored monopolist, Krupp was often on bad terms with the other giants of German heavy industry. This does not detract from the value of this publication, which presents important material of a type too often overlooked by Western scholars.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN, *Washington, D. C.*

DIE GESCHICHTE DES DEUTSCHEN GENERALSTABES VON 1918 BIS 1945. By *Waldemar Erfurth*. [Studien zur Geschichte des zweiten Weltkrieges, Band I.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt Verlag. Pp. 326. 1957. DM 19.80.) *The History of the German General Staff from 1918 to 1945* is very much a history of that institution—there is little finality, little objectivity about it. It is written by an insider, one of the oldest surviving members, long one of its pen wielders, onetime *Oberquartiermeister V* (for war historiography), and author of a book, *Der Angriffskrieg* (1939), but it is written less on the basis of inside knowledge—of which only bits appear—than on that of available literature, domestic and foreign. The greatest use is made of the Reichswehr history by Benoist-Méchin, a Vichyite; but none of Gordon Craig's book (*AHR*, LXI [April, 1956], 636) is utilized, and one of the most revealing pieces of military memoir writing, Faber du Faur's *Macht und Ohnmacht* (1953), which was very shocking to the surviving *Generalität*, is duly punished by noncitation. In Erfurth's opinion, Hindenburg is one of the greatest of men, erring only in his last dotage, while Scheidemann, for revealing the Reichswehr dealings with Soviet Russia, is a "traitor." The chapters deal successively with "the liquidation of the past under Groener, Noske, etc.," Seeckt and his successors to 1933, the training of the 100,000-man army, the transition from the Reichswehr to the army of conscription, and the general staff in World War II. This last is a long chapter concerned with all the theaters of war, excepting strangely enough the western front in 1944–1945, behind which the staff had to battle with Hitler almost as much as with the several enemies. The parts about organization matters are by far the best, as is to be expected from an organization man whose *esprit de corps* betrays at times almost a labor union outlook for interest. Very little validity is conceded the post-1945 criticisms directed against the staff, even when coming from such authorities as Guderian, and only a little more when it is aimed at men like Brauchitsch, Reichenau, and Blomberg, not to mention the man entrusted with historiography in Hitler's headquarters. The author's sociology goes far enough to mention the prevalence of the noble officer among the personnel and the partial survival of the Guards' spirit, but not far enough to draw conclusions as to the techniques or the politics of the Reichswehr. Reichswehr politics to 1933 seem to the author to be of a strict legality, always excepting the observance of the Versailles Treaty—"No regulation was more completely bypassed than the suppression of the War Academy and the Great General Staff"—and after 1933 even more so. Its "politicization," if sometimes called aloofness from politics, went only so far as was necessary to regain the army its old power position. There was no obstacle to this goal as serious as Social Democracy, with its stubborn failings in that *Wehrbereitschaft* which the Nazis showed to such a high degree. The opposition of the generals to being controlled by the civilian militarists, the Nazis, is treated at length. The conspiracy of July, 1944, however, is dealt with only shortly, much as if the author could not bring himself to see that the conspirators, general staff officers and others, took over a traditional function in which the German general staff had failed—helping to bring about the termination of the war, once victory for one's own side could no longer be expected.

ALFRED VAGTS, *Sherman, Connecticut*

DER MYTHOS VOM DRITTEN REICH: ZUR GEISTESGESCHICHTE DES NATIONALSOZIALISMUS. By *Jean F. Neurohr*. (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger. 1957. Pp. 286. DM 18.50.) Even non-Germans considered the Nazis' rise to power in 1933 an "ephemeral and superficial phase of German history." Professor Neurohr's lengthy stay in Germany since 1947 has convinced him that the Germans may not know—or may not want to know—what happened to them. He wonders whether National Socialism lies buried under the rubble of the Reich chancellery, since the Germans supported Hitler not as opportunists but as converts. The book serves him as a vehicle for reflection and catharsis. Neurohr quotes and paraphrases Sorel's definition of a myth as a basis for his study. This myth is not an individual's artificial, imaginary world. It is a mass movement. It exists when "social groups or whole nations create for themselves in time of crisis a world of phantasy, construed out of the denial of the present, out of their yearnings and dreams. . . . [Unlike utopias] the myth leads to deeds." The myth of the Third Reich requires a chapter as exposition and two in which to trace it from the nineteenth century through the Weimar period. Spengler, Moeller van den Bruck, pantheism, Nietzsche, and Stefan George provide the ideas for the myth of "the German Revolution." Sombart, Spengler, and the periodical *Die Tat* are essential parts of the chapter on "German Socialism." Explanation of the "Race myth" involves analyses of Herder, Schopenhauer, H. S. Chamberlain, Lagarde, and Alfred Rosenberg. Wilhelm Stapel and Edgar Jung have the leading roles in the two chapters leading up to the one on the myth of "Young Nations." The chapter on "German Manner and Art" presents material for an understanding of the search after 1871 for the cause of the self-proclaimed decadence—and even "Americanization"—of Germany; the solution is found in xenophobia in general and anti-Semitism in particular. Finally, the myth of the "New Man and Total Education" concerns primarily the exposition of Ernst Kriek's pedagogical theories, as he espoused them at Heidelberg from 1933. The topical bibliography is not outstanding; for the Weimar period only R. T. Clark, *The Fall of the German Republic* (London, 1935), is noted. The index of persons facilitates identification by giving dates and a characterization of each entry. The simplified system of citations leads (in the cases tested) to garbling of original sources or even an inability to find them. That this bilingual Alsatian—at present active at the Institut Français in Berlin—should have been unable to find a publisher between 1933 and 1939 attests to the timidity of publishers. Only the most timorous could construe this scholarly venture as "too pro-German or even pro-Hitlerian."

LOUIS KESTENBERG, *University of Houston*

GERMAN-FRENCH UNITY: BASIS FOR EUROPEAN PEACE. By *Hermann Lutz*. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. 1957. Pp. xii, 257. \$5.00.) Hermann Lutz, according to the publisher, has written "a serious and carefully documented historical study concerning German-French relations for the past ninety years, beginning with the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and concluding with Hitler's rise to power in 1933." Lutz worked at the Hoover Library at Stanford University under a grant from "an American Foundation." The reader, however, will search in vain for any systematic treatment of German-French relations; indeed, they are scarcely mentioned. Instead, we have an obviously sincere but highly subjective diatribe against all the external iniquities which the author feels have been heaped upon Germany, particularly since November 11, 1918. Beginning with a protest against Lord Robert Vansittart's estimate of the German character, the threnody reaches its crescendo with its appraisal of the vicious "spirit of Versailles" and the assessment of war guilt at the conclusion of World War I. There follows a discussion of the collapse of the Weimar

Republic and the ascendancy of Hitler, from predominately external causes in each case. Finally there is an appendix which deals principally with the alleged financing of Hitler by the Ford Motor Company and General Motors, in which the author disputes these allegations. The theme is nothing new for Lutz, now an American citizen, who is the author of *Lord Grey and the World War* and who contributed the German section to the study on war guilt by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. He also issued in 1924 *An Appeal to British Fair Play* as a protest against the "moral defamation of the German people" as imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. In his present work, Lutz offers no fresh thinking or research but rather a compilation of numerous secondary sources that to varying degrees support his point of view. The book, however, may be useful as a vivid example that the war guilt issue is by no means forgotten. The inaccessibility of the footnotes in the back of the book is irritating. Perhaps the publisher felt that a different arrangement would have destroyed the continuity of the text, but in this regard no editorial device would have enlarged upon the handiwork of the author.

JOHN R. HUBBARD, *Tulane University*

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ITALY

*Gaudens Megaro*¹

SCRITTI INEDITI: PRECEDUTI DA UNA BIBLIOGRAFIA RAGIONATA DEGLI SCRITTI EDITI E INEDITI E DELLE LETTERE A STAMPA. By Gino Capponi. Edited by Guglielmo Macchia. [Studi e Documenti di Storia del Risorgimento, Volume XXXIV.] (Florence: Felice Le Monnier. 1957. Pp. vii, 336. L. 1,800.) This volume, the thirty-fourth in a noteworthy series, provides a listing and a critical commentary and analysis of the published and unpublished writings of Gino Capponi, pedagogue, philosopher, and critic of the age of the Risorgimento. The scholar attracted to the life and times of the Tuscan sage will find his work made immeasurably easier by the critical bibliography and source commentary herein

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

provided. Of equal importance is the second half of the volume, which consists of a series of Capponi's early and hitherto unpublished writings revealing the universality of his interests and demonstrating that no part of the panorama of knowledge was too remote to escape his scrutiny and, on occasion, his caustic comment.

GEORGE A. CARBONE, *University of Mississippi*

- I DOCUMENTI DIPLOMATICI ITALIANI, Quinta Serie: 1914-1918. Volume I (2 AGOSTO-16 OTTOBRE 1914). (Rome: Ministero degli Affari Esteri, 1954. Pp. lxi, 616.) This volume of the *Italian Diplomatic Documents* is the first of the fifth series and is concerned with the early weeks of World War I, from the decision of the Italian Council of Ministers to remain neutral to the death of the Marchese di San Giuliano, Italian foreign minister, on October 16, 1914. The volume is the work of Professor Augusto Torre. As editor of the fourth and fifth series he is responsible for selecting the documentary materials on Italian foreign relations from January 1, 1908, through November 4, 1918. The volume consists of 946 telegrams and letters drawn almost exclusively from the *Archivio Storico* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Included also are some private correspondence between San Giuliano and Antonio Salandra, president of the Council of Ministers, and correspondence between Avarna di Gualtieri, the Italian ambassador to Austria-Hungary, and Bollati, the ambassador to Germany. The Avarna-Bollati letters appeared originally in the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, in 1949-1951. The documents selected by Torre deal especially with the reception given Italy's declaration of neutrality, Albanian affairs, Turkish efforts to abolish capitulations, the Italo-Rumanian accord of September 23, 1914, Italy's recognition of Swiss neutrality, discussions with the Triple Entente about Italy's entry into the war and with the Central Powers over compensation under Article Seven of the treaty of the Triple Alliance, and San Giuliano's statements of August 9 and 11 and September 25 of the conditions which the Entente Powers must meet before Italy would declare war on Austria-Hungary. The documents reveal San Giuliano's concern over the outcome of the war and the effect of the early German victories in inducing caution. There are important new materials on the formulation of Italian war aims. In a lengthy footnote, based largely on Russian materials, Torre summarizes the discussions among the Triple Entente governments, August 1-13, 1914, which led to their agreement to offer the Trentino, Trieste, and Valona to Italy in return for intervention. What San Giuliano's views at this time were may be read in a letter written to Salandra on August 9, in which he outlined, in a seven-point program, the terms of an accord with France, England, and Russia. By September 25, San Giuliano had arrived at a still more comprehensive statement of Italian war aims—under sixteen points—which he sent to Tittoni, Italian ambassador to France, and Carloti, with a request for their views. Italy was to have the Italian provinces of Austria to the main watershed of the Alps. On the water side the boundary was to extend, as a minimum, to the Quarnaro. Albania was to be partitioned among Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece, except for Valona which was to go in full sovereignty to Italy. If the integrity of the Ottoman Empire were not maintained, Italy would keep the Dodecanese Islands; if the Ottoman Empire were partitioned, Italy was to have the zone of Adalia, and there was provision for extending this zone, under certain conditions. The Triple Entente Powers were to give Italy full diplomatic support in case of difficulty with Abyssinia. This program of war aims of September 25, 1914, now given in full in the *Italian Documents*, has previously been available in the partially deciphered text of the tsarist Foreign Office. From San Giuliano's list of conditions for an agreement with the Triple Entente of September 25, 1914, to Sonnino's memorandum of March 4, 1915, and the Secret Treaty of London of April 26, 1915, runs a direct road. It is the achievement of

this volume of documents that the story of the formulation of Italy's war aims, once war had come, can now be pushed back to August 9, and traced forward in some detail. Torre has produced a first-rate work, splendidly edited, and of considerable value to all those interested in Italian foreign policy during the period of Italy's neutrality. What he thinks of San Giuliano in those critical days may be gathered from his article in *Nova Historia* (June, 1954), "Il Marchese Di San Giuliano fra la Neutralità e l'Intervento."

HOWARD M. EHLMANN, *University of Michigan*

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EASTERN EUROPE

Charles Morley¹

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DOCTRINES OF THE UNITY OF CZECH BRETHREN IN THE FIFTEENTH AND EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURIES. By *Peter Brock*. [Slavistic Printings and Reprintings, Number XI.] (The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1957. Pp. 302. Gld. 24.00.) Hardly any objection can be raised against the author's decision to discuss the political and social ideas of Czech Brethren rather than their theology. In their efforts to build up a new religious community the founders of the Unity were less influenced by interest in doctrinal problems than by striving for a just social order. The lofty vision of the early Christian church, simple in its organization and uncontaminated by heterogeneous elements, was the main source of inspiration for the spiritual father of the Unity, Peter Chelčický. In their early history the Brethren adhered to Peter's rigid precepts, shunning participation in public affairs. Dr. Brock devotes a fairly long chapter to Chelčický's writings, on which, so far, little has been said in languages other than Czech. In the course of several decades the social structure of the Unity changed considerably as not only peasants, petty tradesmen, and artisans but also members of higher social classes sought admission to its ranks. Under such circumstances serious difficulties arose as the leaders of the Unity wavered between concessions to new members and strict enforcement of original rules forbidding acceptance of offices, oath taking, and military service. Attempts to find a compromise formula were bitterly opposed by the protagonists of the original concepts. The author treats in detail the causes of the rift, which came after protracted debates, and studies its impact upon both the doctrine of the Brethren and the rules of conduct. Chapters devoted to the controversy are based on careful study of polemical tracts, written mostly in Czech, and due attention has been given to the works of modern scholars in the field of the Czech Reformation. This section of the book is followed by two chapters (vi and vii) concerned with the new ideology which had emerged from the struggles and served from the early sixteenth century as the basis for the flourishing of the Unity. A note on sources concludes this careful exploration of social radicalism of the Old Brethren and of its modification by the vanguard of the Major party.

OTAKER ODLOZILIK, *University of Pennsylvania*

MONTESKIUŚ I JEGO DZIEŁO: SESJA NAUKOWA W DWUSETNĄ ROCZNICĘ ŚMIERCI, WARSZAWA 27-28 X 1955 [Montesquieu and His Works: Scientific Session Held at Bicentennial of His Death, Warsaw, October 27 and 28, 1955]. [Polish Academy of Sciences, Committee of Legal Sciences.] (Wrocław: Ossoliński Institute, Publishing House of the Polish Academy of Sciences. 1956. Pp. 364 Zł. 42.) The avowed purpose of the session indicated in the title was an evaluation of Montesquieu from the point of view of historical materialism, which, essentially, amounted to an investigation of how "progressive" his ideas were. To some extent his "vulgar" materialism and his rationalism and empiricism were also considered. This volume presents five

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

papers from the session, each followed by a discussion, with summaries in French. The first, by K. Koranyi, is a survey of political conditions in countries visited by Montesquieu or of particular interest to him. The next, by Wróblewski, presents Montesquieu as heir to the materialistic and sensualistic tendencies of the Enlightenment. The formula that in Montesquieu the theory of climate is "progressive," whereas in contemporary sociological thought it is counterrevolutionary, recurs, *mutatis mutandis*, throughout the volume. The paper by S. Pławski deals with criminal law and hails Montesquieu as a forerunner of Beccaria and as a humanitarian. A. Burda concentrates on the problem of whether the demand for the separation of powers could at present serve the proletarian cause. K. Opałek's paper, "Montesquieu in Poland," is perhaps the most interesting and contains much material that is relatively unknown. It describes the reception of Montesquieu in the eighteenth century and also the vicissitudes of his fame in connection with changing political conditions in Poland up to the beginning of the Second World War. It culminates in the characteristic assertion that in Piłsudski's Poland the rejection of the separation of powers was an ill-disguised attempt to pave the way for fascism, whereas in the socialist state this antagonism between the individual and the state (and even the antagonism between the several organs of the state) has been eliminated, so that there is no need for this separation. One wonders whether the old proverb should not be changed to read: "What is sauce for the red gander is not sauce for the black goose." On the whole, most of the papers pay too little attention to the tensions, not to mention the contradictions, appearing in Montesquieu's *Spirit*. Is his plea for a corporative state with intermediate powers compatible with his admiration of what he conceived to be the English constitution? It is also strange that none of the authors mentioned a famous dictum by Sieyès: "If French nobility, as has been asserted, acquired its rights by conquests, let them go back to the German woods where they came from," for his remark was well applicable to Montesquieu's "Germanistic" tendencies. On the other hand, the contradiction between his adherence to the natural law theory and his historico-environmental relativism is several times mentioned and discussed. The main conclusion—that in relation to his time, some of Montesquieu's leading ideas were "progressive"—can easily be anticipated.

FRANCISZKA MERLAN, *Scripps College*

KRÓLESTWO POLSKIE W POCZĄTKACH IMPERIALIZMU, 1900-1905 [The Polish Kingdom in the First Stages of Imperialism, 1900-1905]. By Irena Pietrzak-Pawłowska. (Warsaw: State Publishing House for Scholarly Works for the Polish Academy of Sciences, Historical Institute. 1955. Pp. 489.) This work consists of four chapters: "The Polish Kingdom at the Turn of the Century," "The Economic Crisis of 1900-1903 and the Encroachment of Capitalistic Monopolies on the Kingdom of Poland," "The Effects of the 1900-1903 Crisis on the Workers and the Policies of the Capitalistic Monopolies," "The Russo-Japanese War and Its Effect on the Revolutionary Crisis in the Polish Kingdom." The author has performed a useful task by collecting information on the economic conditions existing in Russian Poland around 1900, but in her interpretation of the material she overemphasizes the theme of class struggle. She construes all signs of political or economic dissatisfaction as an effort of the whole nation to destroy the propertied classes and to establish a type of people's democracy. Certain economic aspects of the period which could have been clarified are ignored, such as, for example, the production of consumers' goods, known to have exceeded that of producers' goods. Much stress is laid on the low living standards characterizing the period, but comparative data (of vast importance in such questions) on the living standards prevailing in the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian parts of Poland are

not presented. While noting the low level of agriculture, the author fails to make explicit the specific demands of the peasantry which sought comprehensive agricultural reforms culminating in the right to own more land. In the political field, the attempt to picture the Social Democratic party of the Kingdom of Poland (SDKP) as a precursor of the Polish Communist party encounters an embarrassing obstacle, namely, a categorical rejection of national identification on the part of the SDKP. The author resolves the difficulty by accusing the SDKP of not having wanted a free and independent Poland and so avoids touching upon the crucial political controversy of the times. No political party can equivocate on such a point and claim to be a national political party. As a result of the emphasis placed on the SDKP, adequate recognition is not given to other important political movements representing more essentially the Polish national interests of the period. National liberation, often regarded as the central theme of Polish history, is in the author's opinion secondary to a sense of international proletarian unity. It is this last concept which separates the present work from the main stream of Polish historiography.

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Fritz T. Epstein

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Sidney Glazer

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Far Eastern History

PARTY POLITICS IN INDIA: THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MULTI-PARTY SYSTEM. By *Myron Weiner*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press for the Center of International Studies. 1957. Pp. xiii, 319. \$5.00.) Mr. Weiner's volume is concerned with the development of political parties in independent India, the role of party leaders, and the effect of these developments on the growth of a rational system of politics, political stability, and democracy. Based primarily on careful case studies of the more significant parties and their recent evolution, the volume fulfills its major objectives in a laudable fashion. In carrying out his task, Weiner seems to have exploited all available sources quite effectively, with special emphasis on personal interviews with prominent leaders. He has also made good use of a maze of published party materials and platforms. His organization of an admittedly complex subject is lucid, and he writes with clarity and directness. Weiner devotes the bulk of his study to the so-called minor parties, thus filling an important gap in our knowledge. The reader may well feel, however, that the volume would be of greater value had he paid more attention to the Congress party. Important as it is to know more of the dynamics of the minor parties, there are significant questions regarding the future of the Congress that could and should have been discussed. One also feels that Weiner may have stayed closer than was necessary to an interpretation oriented to the European scene. The book contains valuable insights into the role of party leaders and of factionalism and gives solid understanding of the milieu in which Indian politics operate. We have much to learn of the habituation of Western political systems in exotic surroundings, and Weiner has made a contribution to such understanding.

ROBERT I. CRANE, *University of Michigan*

CONTROL OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY: A STUDY OF CIVIL-MILITARY RIVALRY, 1930-1945. By *Yale Candee Maxon*. [University of California Publications in Political Science, Volume V.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. vi, 286. \$5.00.) If diaries are model sources for historical research and writing, then surely the live testimony of central figures in historical developments, given on direct examination and in affidavit form, is the ultimate method for accurately recording them. Mr. Maxon makes full use of both these categories, relying primarily on the latter to justify his retelling the familiar story of Japan's "government by assassination" in the fifteen-year period under study. To put together the standard account of Japan's double-headed government, the product of a fundamental defect in the Meiji Constitution, he drew abundantly on the diaries and writings of Prince Saionji, Prince Konoye, Marquis Kido, and Japanese diplomat Toshikazu Kase. For his original play-by-play description of the rise of Japan's military and its bungling of foreign affairs, he utilized the documentary and testimonial evidence of key military and civil participants (including twenty-five of the twenty-eight major war crime suspects) produced by the Tokyo war crimes trials, 1946-1948. Although General Tojo's main concern was to have the record show the failure of himself and the chiefs of staff to "discharge our responsibilities to the Emperor," he freely admitted that mismanagement of the military in the field of diplomacy contributed significantly to Japan's downfall. Admiral Yonai's appraisal of statecraft as practiced by the Japanese generals is contained in his blunt remark that the turning point of the Pacific War was its beginning, at Pearl Harbor. The author fortified his qualifications to analyze the inner working

of the Japanese government by serving for three months as an official interpreter at the pretrial interrogations of Tojo and for two years as an employee of the International Prosecution Section, GHQ, SCAP. Not the least valuable part of his sturdy monograph is an annotated bibliography which explains how the fifty thousand pages of evidence taken by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East were transcribed and classified.

JUSTIN WILLIAMS, *Washington, D. C.*

EASTERN ASIA

Hilary Conroy

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Cecil Hobbs

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United States History

Wood Gray¹

GENERAL

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S DICTIONARY OF ARTISTS IN AMERICA, 1564-1860. By George C. Groce and David H. Wallace. (New Haven,

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xxvii, 759. \$15.00.) The extent of the contribution of this new dictionary of American art is best measured in its introduction where its compilers indicate that its more than ten thousand entries are seven times the entries in previous standard guides like Ralph Clifton Smith's *Biographical Index of American Artists* and Mantle Fielding's *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers*. The present *Dictionary* is a belated benefit of the Historical Records Survey of the WPA, much extended by a decade of further research since 1945 by its final compilers and others. Its introduction succinctly indicates its scope as "a documented biographical dictionary of painters, draftsmen, sculptors, engravers, lithographers, and allied artists, either amateur or professional, native or foreign-born, who worked within the present continental limits of the United States between the years 1564 and 1860, inclusive." Note that the *Dictionary* does not include architects unless, like Latrobe or Strickland, they worked as professionals or amateurs in other areas of the arts. The terminal date means that no artist is represented in the *Dictionary* who was born after 1840, since it is assumed that his production would only have begun after 1860. It is, moreover, worth underscoring that the *Dictionary* includes Americans who went abroad, as well as foreigners who worked in the United States even if they later returned to their native countries—a category which happily includes the foreign traveler and the professional itinerant. The entries range from the barest approximation of the artist's dates of activity (for some who, as the compilers themselves admit, may enjoy dubious distinctions as "artists" even within the generous definition of this term used for the *Dictionary*) to a full column of data for the Sully's and Trumbull's of the period. Although the compilers modestly disclaim completeness for their work (and for obvious reasons), the amount of new information on virtually unknown artists and fresh data on the well-known names is astonishing. In addition to its appeal to the art historian, the *Dictionary* will prove helpful to the cultural historian, the genealogist, the student of regional and local history, and to all historians in search of pictorial materials for early American history. This volume, excellently compiled and admirably printed, immediately becomes the standard reference in its field.

WILLIAM H. JORDY, *Brown University*

COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By *Kenneth Scott*. Foreword by *U. E. Baughman*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 283. \$5.00.) Most of our colonial forebears who set out to acquire wealth chose the paths of trade or one of the other equally respectable if arduous roads. But there were some who thought that the best way of making money was to make it. A good many of these were mere amateurs who only took advantage of the occasional blank spaces on provincial currency to raise a bill from, say, two shillings sixpence to ten and six. Others were expert copper plate engravers who engaged in large-scale operations, although presumably those expert enough to stay clear of the authorities have irretrievably escaped the historian as well. Then there was the housewife of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, whose skill with a flatiron led her into a life of crime when she discovered that money could be made by pressing the printing from genuine province bills onto a bit of muslin, thence to a blank piece of paper. Readers looking for professional tips will find a description of the process on page 64. Those who would like to fit the topic into its proper niche in the history of the times will be disappointed in the book's lack of analysis, either statistical or other, and will be frustrated by the absence of documentation. In this respect, several of Professor Scott's earlier studies are more helpful. On the other hand, anyone hard put for a few good stories to liven up his lectures will find real gold in the careers of some of the counterfeiters. There comes to mind one Owen Sullivan, who, when jailed in Boston for counterfeiting Massachu-

setts currency, spent his enforced leisure in cutting a plate to be used for printing New Hampshire bills. Readers of *Mayflower* descent will certainly be shocked to discover that in 1704 both the son and grandson of Peregrine White belonged to a notorious counterfeiting ring and only managed to keep their ears on their respective heads by turning Queen's evidence against the rest of the gang.

BYRON FAIRCHILD, *Alexandria, Virginia*

AMERICAN INDIAN AND WHITE RELATIONS TO 1830: NEEDS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDY. By *William N. Fenton*. Bibliography by *L. H. Butterfield*, *Wilcomb E. Washburn*, and *William N. Fenton*. [Needs and Opportunities for Study Series.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1957. Pp. x, 138. \$3.00.) With the development of the anthropological sciences in America into exacting professional disciplines from which flows a steady stream of scholarly literature, the historian has largely abandoned the study of the American Indian and his cultures. To the investigation of Indian-white contacts, however, he is still attracted. Unfortunately, the products of this research are often jejune and barren of insight into the aboriginal mind. The historian and the ethnologist are currently discovering their common interests and their mutual dependence. In the last five years a number of interdisciplinary conferences have been held, a journal has been launched, and a learned society of ethnohistorians has been founded. The Newberry Library and the Columbus conferences of 1952 and the Williamsburg conference of 1953 reflected the spirit of cooperation and stimulated interest in the field. The volume at hand is one of the fruits of the Williamsburg meeting. Mr. Fenton's title essay of twenty-seven pages is accompanied by a descriptive and critical bibliography that runs to ninety-two pages. It is not intended as a complete survey of the literature but rather as a guide that will suggest the kinds of investigation that have been completed and need to be paralleled. It is evident that there remains for resolution a number of significant problems in ethnohistory for the period before 1830. It seems possible, however, that even more imperative "needs and opportunities for study" lie in the period after 1830, and particularly in the period after 1865. The historical literature relating to white-Indian contacts in the trans-Missouri west is still largely permeated with the mentality of the squatter and the opportunistic politician bent on extermination.

THOMAS LEDUC, *Oberlin College*

GUNS ON THE EARLY FRONTIERS: A HISTORY OF FIREARMS FROM COLONIAL TIMES THROUGH THE YEARS OF THE WESTERN FUR TRADE. By *Carl P. Russell*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1957. Pp. xv, 395. \$8.50.) Carl P. Russell has succeeded in writing a readable, well-documented, and authoritative history of firearms from colonial times through the years of the western fur trade. The book reflects throughout the keen interest of the author in his subject, his careful attention to documentary materials, and a firsthand knowledge of firearms. In the first chapter, and to a lesser extent elsewhere in the book, the story of guns has been adroitly woven into a broader historical framework. This does not detract from the author's primary purpose but, on the contrary, provides an appropriate setting and gives a depth which enhances the meaning and significance of the story being told. Mr. Russell presents an excellent account of the gun trade, the weapons used therein, and the competition and rivalry between nations, fur companies, and private traders for that trade. He shows how discriminative the Indians became in their choice of firearms as their favor was sought. Russell reflects much more than just an armchair knowledge as he discusses the various types of weapons, whether he is writing about

the Kentucky rifle, the "Brown Bess" musket, or some special military weapon. The numerous details concerning the many weapons should certainly be of value to serious students of guns and private arms collectors. Of particular interest to the reviewer was the information about the reluctance with which the change was made from flintlock, muzzle-loaded arms to breech-loaded, percussion weapons of a repeater type, particularly in so far as the military was concerned. In this connection the story of the Colt weapons is appropriately told. The reviewer feels that the information in chapter v, "Powder, Ball, and Accessories," might have been advantageously integrated into the earlier part of the book. Had this been done the book would have been more meaningful for readers not intimately acquainted with guns. *Guns on the Early Frontiers* is a significant contribution to the literature on the subject. Although of particular interest to the serious student of firearms, the book also could be read with enjoyment by students of history.

DELLO G. DAYTON, *Weber College*

HOMICIDE IN AMERICAN FICTION, 1798-1860: A STUDY IN SOCIAL VALUES.

By *David Brion Davis*. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 346. \$5.00.) A difficulty that confronts the social historian and the historian of ideas alike is that of finding broad differences in the phenomena they study to correspond to differences in time and place. Whether homicides occur at a rate of 1 per 100,000 or 12 per 100,000 population each year, they are not customary in the way of life of any organized society, and the range of possibility in moral attitudes toward them is too narrow to allow much room for contrast or development. Subject to these inherent limitations, this work provides an interesting analysis of the attitudes toward homicide held by writers of fiction in the United States during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. The author discusses the beliefs and assumptions implicit in the writings of Brown, Irving, Cooper, Poe, Simms, Lippard, and others "concerning the development of human evil, the extent of freedom and responsibility, the nature of mental and emotional abnormality, the influence of American social forces on violence, and the morality of capital punishment." He notes a growing tendency in the fiction of the period to assign less and less importance to reason in man's moral conduct. However diverse the motives of actual homicide may have been, he finds that writers of fiction preferred to relate all homicides in their books to some aspect of sexual conflict. In the 1840's and 1850's they gave special emphasis to the element of evil in women; in the author's words, "as the problem of feminine status became more acute, writers increasingly portrayed the woman with the poisonous heart." Lynching, in pre-Civil War fiction, seems to have "occupied a position of curious respectability, often being defended as a necessity of frontier life or as a fundamental expression of democracy." On the other hand, there was among the writers examined a general acceptance of the arguments advanced, if not the conclusions reached, by the reformers who opposed capital punishment. The book's topical organization is suited to its analytical purpose, its style is clear and direct, and its occasional use of psychological jargon is fairly warranted by the nature of its argument.

G. PHILIP BAUER, *National Archives*

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. Volume XIX. (Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1956. Pp. vii, 217. \$2.50.) Theodore C. Blegen's name has been intimately associated with the excellently edited publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association during the last thirty-one years. The *Norwegian-American Studies and Records* represent a significant part of Blegen's scholarly contributions to the study of American immigration, and it seems

proper that Volume XIX should have been edited by Carlton C. Qualey, who in a brief preface pays tribute to his mentor and teacher upon his sixty-fifth birthday. In honor of Blegen, the acting editor has included the significant chapter entitled "The Immigrant Image of America" from Blegen's *Land of Their Choice* as the opening article. Blegen has been interested in America letters during a period of three decades, and nowhere else is there to be found a more readable account of the importance of these letters in encouraging immigration to America than in this essay. Clarence A. Glasrud in "Boyesen and the Norwegian Immigration" has taken issue with George L. White, Jr., who contributed an article on H. H. Boyesen to *American Literature*. Glasrud does not regard Boyesen as an important writer on Norwegian immigration, for he had largely disassociated himself from the immigrants in his efforts to become American. Glasrud uses two yardsticks in evaluating the works of Boyesen. He accepts him as a reliable critic of the American scene in his later life rather than as a novelist accurately interpreting immigrant life. Is it possible that Glasrud is no more able to overcome his prejudices than Boyesen? William Mulder, a Mormon scholar, deals sympathetically with the story of the conversion of the first Norwegians to Mormonism in "Norwegian Forerunners among the Early Mormons." It is appropriate that a more sympathetic and understanding story is told of the activities of the Mormons among the Scandinavians, for this is long overdue. It does not seem possible, however, that a scholar of Mulder's ability should have referred to Gustaf Unonius at Pine Lake, Wisconsin, as a bishop. Kenneth Bjork's scholarly article dealing with fact and legend in the story of "Snowshoe" Thompson is exceptionally well told. Arlow William Andersen's "Norwegian-Danish Methodism on the Pacific Coast" is a story which is more difficult to tell even though it is perhaps more significant. Tora Bøhn in "A Quest for Norwegian Folk Art in America" expresses her disappointment over the results of her search for valuable Norwegian antiques and a folk art among the immigrants in America on her recent study trip to this country. Miss Bøhn, a curator from a Trondheim museum, is much concerned over the fact that the immigrants left no folk art inspired by the memory of home traditions. Her explanations seem both sound and important to a student of immigration. Clarence A. Clausen has translated and edited a journal of Ole K. Trovatten depicting an immigrant's journey to America and his first impressions. Clausen has also compiled "Some Recent Publications Relating to Norwegian-American History," a work which was begun many years ago by Jacob Hodnefield for *Studies and Records*. Oystein Ore has prepared a short biographical list of "Norwegian Emigrants with a University Training 1830-1880."

O. FRITIOF ANDER, *Augustana College*

JAMES SHEPHERD PIKE: REPUBLICANISM AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO, 1850-1882. By Robert Franklin Durden. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 249. \$5.00.) The central theme of this much-needed volume on the career of James S. Pike is that Pike was in part motivated in his view of public questions by a deep-seated antipathy toward the Negro race. Linked by this thread are his Free Soil proclivities during the 1850's, his prewar advocacy of disunion, his willingness to accept a compromise peace in midwar, and *The Prostrate State: South Carolina under Negro Government*. Professor Durden further suggests that Pike's racial views may have been typical of the dominant group in the North. "To the extent that they were representative or 'typical,'" he states in his preface, "I suggest that the Civil War and Reconstruction eras take on a new dimension of tragedy. If our Civil War victors, or any considerable portion of them, shared and were partially motivated by racial considerations similar to those of the vanquished, then truly the Fates had

made high tragedy of our great national blood-letting." There is a slight intimation of the "cannibals all" approach here. Interesting as these ideas are, they are at the very least debatable. Racism as a driving force among the victors is not plumbed, but merely hinted in the preface, but Durden endeavors to establish a definite although "partial" connection between Pike's "aversion to slavery as an institution" and his "racial distaste for the enslaved." Certainly he demonstrates that Pike did not like Negroes—or Papists, Democrats, and, presumably non-Anglo-Saxon foreigners—but it does not necessarily follow that this attitude was sufficiently obsessive to mold his viewpoint on public policy to even such an indeterminate degree as "partially." Pike was a highly erratic person, admittedly inconsistent and contradictory, and it may be reasonably doubted that he followed consistently for more than a quarter of a century any one fixed idea. Furthermore, to this reviewer there is insufficient evidence in the text of his "constant antipathy" for the Negro, particularly in the period prior to 1857, when his basic views were being formulated. Even his opposition to the annexation of Cuba as territory filled "with black, mixed, degraded and ignorant or inferior races" and his subsequent espousal of a "Negro pen" or some other form of colonization do not of themselves demonstrate that racism and a presumable desire to disparage the Negro influenced him to condemn the Reconstruction government of South Carolina. His real targets seem still to have been the conventional ones: the institution of slavery, the slave-holding class, Democrats, and, eventually, Grant Republicans. Less controversial and indeed quite significant is Durden's excellent account of Pike's wartime mission as minister to the Netherlands. More is needed in readily available form on the activities of second-bracket American diplomatic representatives during the Civil War. Stimulating in concept and zestfully written, this book, whether or not one agrees with its major thesis, will deservedly take its place in the standard literature of the period it encompasses. Durden has not shunned his obligation to interpret and, at the very least, he may have sparked an interesting and significant historical discussion.

CHARLES R. WILSON, *Colgate University*

THE RESPONSE TO INDUSTRIALISM, 1885-1914. By *Samuel P. Hays*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 210. \$3.50.) Those who expect a complete treatment of the response to industrialism will find the title somewhat misleading. While room has been found to describe the impact of industrialism upon religion, education and literature are largely omitted. Perhaps later volumes in the series will fill the gap. Within its area of predominantly economic, political, urban, and international developments, the volume has pronounced advantages. For one thing, the time span is a sound one. The first years of the present century, like its leaders, Roosevelt and Wilson, grew out of the pressures and idealism of the nineteenth century. For another thing, Professor Hays has dropped the conventional political framework. We are not given a narrative of presidential administrations, a scheme perhaps derived from English reigns, but instead a broad topical arrangement. Finally, there is here no enunciation of a thesis of bald economic determinism. In a little less than two hundred pages, interpretation is bound to be more important—and perhaps more accurate—than facts. In a large measure Hays slips away from the synthesis formulated during the twenties (or the years, 1885-1914). He does not see this period as solely one of an uprising of the dispossessed and exploited against corporate wealth. He sees instead that "reform" came often from those with means, that materialism was a goal of the whole community, and that salvation from industrialism often came from imitating its means. His chapters on "Organize or Perish" and "The Individual in an Impersonal Society" are exceptionally

perceptive and suggestive. Elsewhere the old commonplaces are repeated. Sometimes this is a matter of detail, for instance in the treatment of judicial decisions; more importantly, Hays fails to take a second look at the industrialism about the response to which he is writing. He still accepts "the crudeness of the new age and the graft and corruption, praise of material values, and destruction of resources which accompanied it." Still the measure of revisionism here achieved requires explanation as well as approval. Perhaps a partial explanation lies in the bibliography. Dates of publication, most of them recent, reveal how much historical writing by its new insights and factual material is shattering formulas which have long held immobile historians of the Gilded Age and the Progressive era.

EDWARD C. KIRKLAND, *Bowdoin College*

WESTWARD IS THE COURSE OF EMPIRES. A STUDY IN THE SHAPING OF AN AMERICAN IDEA: FREDERICK JACKSON TURNER'S FRONTIER. By *Per Sveaas Andersen*. (Oslo: Oslo University Press. 1956. Pp. 133.) P. S. Andersen attempts to reconstruct the course of thought by which Frederick Jackson Turner arrived at the ideas contained in his essay of 1893 on the frontier interpretation of American history. In his opening chapter the author touches on the work of Freund, Malin, Benson, and this reviewer, all of whom have given consideration to the problem he has chosen for study. It is necessary for the author to define "the main concepts," as he terms them, though really he means the elements, in the frontier theory. He finds these to be six: the frontier, the West, free soil or free land, the idea of nature, the idea of evolution, and the economic thought-complex of land and trade. From Turner he quotes sentences to show "their various connotations" and concludes: "These quotations summarize the frontier theory in all its complexity." A brash simplification, this! The author then undertakes to analyze eleven publications (1883-1893) by Turner, the analysis proceeding backward in time, "the method of chronological retrogression," as he calls it. In defense of this irregular procedure he asserts: "This method enables us to observe when the ideas became vital elements of his thought and when they began to play an active part in the process of synthesis leading to the frontier theory." The rejoinder entered here is that the methods of chronological progression and genetic presentation will yield similar but clearer results because they move with time instead of against it. But whatever the validity of the method, the worth of the results in any particular case of historical research must depend upon a thorough and well-rounded understanding of the several discrete pieces of evidence that the researcher intends to study, upon the author's knowledge of the relevant biographical facts, and upon a preliminary exclusion of irrelevant evidence as well as a final inclusion of *all* (not just a few, several, or some) of the pieces of evidence that are relevant. The author has erected a structure of Gothic complexity upon a narrow and sandy foundation. He has put into his work irrelevant materials as well as relevant ones; he has erred in that his canon of pertinent materials to 1893 is incomplete. He lacks that comprehension of the biographical facts which, had he possessed it, would have given him precious help in understanding to the fullest the cited documents in relation to Turner's career. He has yet to attain to a ripe understanding of the essential content of more than a few of the eleven individual pieces he has chosen to discuss. In its main outlines, in its central drift, then, the author's work is fallacious, tending to hinder comprehension rather than to illuminate. But a work vitiated in essence has this value, that it stimulates the production of future studies that may be better grounded. The materials presented by the writer are such as to call for the closest attention by the reader, and the arrangement of them is curious. The many divisions, subdivisions, and sub-subdivisions into which the con-

tent has been broken up make for a rhetorical intricacy that produces in the reader's mind a peculiarly oppressive *tedium teutonicum*, something seldom experienced in these latter days. The author could have laid out his materials in a plain and simple way. Retrogressive study, it may be observed here, as well as "mechanical methods" (the term mechanical is the author's own and self-applied by him) and a nonbiographical approach, will not advance the study of the growth of Turner's mind. That mind is too large to be enclosed in butterfly nets. Andersen's faulty understanding of his subject can be shown by taking the following solitary but crucial instance. In dealing with Turner's essay of 1891 on the significance of history, the author fails to mention the fact that in this essay Turner makes no use of the concept of the frontier. He fails to see the meaning implicit in this silence, that it veils a fact of profound meaningfulness in the growth of his mind and in that of his theory. Translated (probably by the author), the text is written in plain but good English; lapses in style are few and misprints are infrequent. The bibliographical references do not extend beyond 1951, although the author dates his preface in August, 1956.

FULMER MOOD, *University of Texas*

THE NEW AGE OF FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, 1932-45. By *Dexter Perkins*. [The Chicago History of American Civilization.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1957. Pp. ix, 193. \$3.50.) In this small volume Professor Perkins by his own account set out to "trace, in brief form, the momentous economic, political, and foreign-policy changes in the United States during the Roosevelt administrations." Writing for the "general reader," he has presented clearly a great deal of accurate and carefully organized data culled from the growing bibliography on the period. He has also, as his editor attests, sustained "a fair-minded and good-tempered interpretation," a level of objectivity that informs rather more than it sparks. These qualities make the book a useful introduction to the Roosevelt era for those general readers who do not remember it, especially perhaps for college undergraduates enrolled in a first course in American history. The author's choice of emphasis, however, creates some problems. Though Perkins had little more space for his subject than do several texts on recent American history, he devoted more than half the book to foreign policy and the military events of World War II and a considerable fraction of the balance to the Supreme Court and Roosevelt's attempt to discipline it. This allotment, reflecting Perkins' particular interests, confined him severely in his treatment of domestic policy and left him with no room at all for serious consideration of relevant intellectual and cultural matters. His deliberate quest for coverage, clarity, and objectivity doubtless prevented him from advancing any arresting interpretations. For historians, the essential weaknesses of the volume derive from the author's unfamiliarity with manuscript sources and apparently also with the economic literature on the period. Examination of the Roosevelt and Hopkins papers would have enlightened his assessment of the WPA. His handling of banking, monetary policy, taxation, and the recession fails to incorporate the work of G. G. Johnson, J. D. Paris, Randolph Paul, J. R. Reeve, and K. D. Roose, among others. About the activities and ideas of Arnold, Berle, Eccles, Frank, Henderson, and Tugwell, he says almost nothing, even by implication. But perhaps these criticisms ask too much. Perkins was not writing for historians, after all, and his special audience will profit from his efforts.

JOHN M. BLUM, *Yale University*

THE COMMUNIST PARTY VS. THE C.I.O.: A STUDY IN POWER POLITICS. By *Max M. Kampelman*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1957. Pp. xv, 299. \$6.00.) In blueprinting the Communist relationship to trade unionism V. I. Lenin once wrote:

"We must be able to . . . agree to any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of stratagems, artifices, illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, only so as to get into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work within them at all costs." Dr. Max Kampelman, former legislative counsel to the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Labor Management Relations, describes in this book one such attempt by Communists to influence trade unionism, specifically, the CIO. It is a story competently and impartially told, based mainly on CIO reports, Communist records, and newspapers. Prior to the formation of the CIO, Communists had remained largely outside the mainstream of the American labor movement. After 1936, however, the Communist party made a serious and successful bid for power within organized labor, centering its attention on the CIO. Rapidly penetrating the fields of transportation, shipping, fuel, metal trades, and other industries vital to the nation's economy, the Communists at the height of their power dominated twelve to fifteen of the forty international CIO unions, even though numerically Communist party adherents represented only two tenths of one per cent of organized labor's fifteen million members. Always following the party line and ever faithful to the devious twists and turns of prewar Soviet policy, these unions proved themselves less sensitive to the welfare of the American workingman than to the fortunes of the USSR. After American entry into World War II, of course, it was more easily possible to be both "patriotic" and Communist at the same time. With the advent of the cold war, deep concern appeared in the CIO because of the growing Communist influence. For a time, vigorous action against the Communists was delayed because of fear of a split in the CIO. Yet by 1947–1948, as the cold war deepened, an anti-Communist surge prompted the demotion or dismissal of such radicals as Harry Bridges and Lee Pressman, and the ascendancy of such antiradical leaders as Walter Reuther. As a direct result of this "housecleaning," pro-Communist and Communist unions such as the United Office and Professional Workers of America, the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union were expelled from the CIO. It is indisputable that such action, belated though it was, hurt the progress of the Communist movement in the United States. But the *CIO News* was much too sanguine in proclaiming in 1950 that "the CIO has broken the back of the [American] Communist Party." This book amply shows that Communist influence in American organized labor remains a potential, if not a real, threat.

ROBERT K. MURRAY, *Pennsylvania State University*

TRENDS IN SOCIAL WORK, 1874–1956: A HISTORY BASED ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. By *Frank J. Bruno*. With chapters by *Louis Towley*. (2d ed.; New York: Columbia University Press. 1957. Pp. xviii, 462. \$5.75.) Both social workers and historians will welcome this new edition of the late Frank Bruno's work, brought up to date by Louis Towley's account of the last ten years. In the nine years since the original publication it has proved its worth as the most complete summary of the emergence of one of the newest professions, for which there is as yet no definitive history. It has the faults and virtues of a work based almost wholly on a single source, albeit without doubt the best single reservoir of professional thinking. For scholars interested in the problem of professionalism in American society it shows how a group interested in putting knowledge of social science to work broke away from the theorists and founded the National Conference of Charities and Correction in 1878. As interest shifted from concentration on the nature of social problems to preoccupation with methodology and training, "Social Work" replaced "Charities and Correction." The period covered ends with another change to "National Conference on Social Welfare" in 1956, re-

flecting renewed interest in professional concerns as well as techniques. The selection of material from the seventy-seven volumes plus supplementary papers was naturally influenced by the perceptions and personal specialties of the authors, in spite of their broad experience and catholicity of interests. Its greatest value for the general historian will be as an index to an unwieldy mass of verbiage. For any particular problem, the scholar can quickly refer to the original, make his own interpretation, and often find minority viewpoints. The interplay of outstanding personalities and changes in the general culture with regard to knowledge and politics is amply illustrated in the development of this profession. The work is uneven in quality, as it looks back to the pioneering enterprise and devotes space to semiautobiographical accounts of personalities as well as issues in which the authors have been primary actors.

MURIEL W. PUMPHREY, *Fairfield, Connecticut*

BAKING IN AMERICA. Volume I, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By *William G. Panschar*. [Northwestern University Studies in Business History.] (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press. 1956. Pp. xvi, 251.) Fortunately Americans do not have to live by bread alone. Indeed, one wonders if they live by bread at all—that is, by bread which their ancestors and other less sophisticated people would recognize as such. This volume by William Panschar reveals that the baking industry has nevertheless witnessed a remarkable expansion since the middle of the last century. In 1850 less than 10 per cent of bread consumed in the United States and a negligible proportion of cakes and variety goods (excluding the separate biscuit and cracker industry) were commercially baked. By 1900 commercial bread formed 25 per cent of the total but in 1950 the proportions were 85 per cent for bread and 40 per cent for variety goods. Somewhat paradoxically the enormous growth in output (the index of physical production rose from 42.4 in 1899 to 222.6 in 1929) was accompanied by a steady decline in bread consumption per capita. Since 1910 flour production has risen by only 4 per cent while per capita consumption of flour has fallen off 37 per cent. The trend away from home baking was facilitated by the growth of industrial baking, first in local retail concerns and later in huge bread factories with wholesale distribution channels reaching out across whole regions to span the continent. The conditions of this vast transformation are not hard to establish: the growth and rapid urbanization of population, increasing participation of women in the labor force, and, not least, rising levels of personal income. It was achieved through mechanization, first in doughmaking and oven technique, later in scaling and molding; and although complete mechanization was for long retarded by the special problems of fermentation, it has been furthered in recent times by the careful synchronizing of chemical and machine processes. But before large-scale operations could fulfill their promise of greater output at lower unit cost, it was necessary to standardize flours, yeasts, and other primary ingredients. By 1910 most of the critical production problems were solved, and subsequent growth was affected as much by forces of the market as by the thrust of baking technology. Intense competition on the selling side and the need to mobilize large capital resources resulted in the emergence of regional and supra-regional corporations. The greatest of these, Ward Food Products, a Maryland holding company, was only halted by antitrust proceedings in 1926 at which time it threatened to control 20 per cent of the nation's commercial bread supply. Unable to achieve either the low production costs of the plant bakeries or the low distribution costs of the multimarket wholesalers and chain stores, the small family baker gradually went to the wall. A major problem in corporate control, according to Panschar, has been the difficulty of coordinating a middle-management of former owners and master bakers. *Baking in America* provides a lucid account of the causes and consequences of

corporate development. Yet it is not altogether a satisfactory book. Neither in sources nor substance does it qualify as "business history" in the strict sense, nor is it adequate in all respects as an "industrial history." It tells little of the peculiar working life of the operatives leading a molelike existence below street level, often at night, in what were literally sweatshop conditions. A very useful section treats the role of government in depression and war, but the author might well have omitted the lengthy and somewhat sketchy survey of baking from antiquity to the mid-nineteenth century in order to deal more thoroughly with important changes of the last century.

ERIC E. LAMPARD, *Washington, D. C.*

THE TRANSPORTATION CORPS: OPERATIONS OVERSEAS. By *Joseph Bykofsky* and *Harold Larson*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The Technical Services.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1957. Pp. xvii, 671. \$6.50.) This volume surveys the overseas transportation activities of the United States Army in World War II and is the last of the trilogy devoted to the history of the Transportation Corps in that period. In the first volume an analysis was made of the precise nature of the transportation task; the functions and organization of the Transportation Corps; its operating problems and relationships. The second volume dealt with troop and supply movements within the United States and with Transportation Corps problems of procurement and training. In this volume, Dr. Larson and Mr. Bykofsky give a clear, interesting, detailed account of the Army transportation organizations in the various overseas commands, the operations for which they were responsible, their relation to transportation matters for which they were not directly responsible, and their position in the structure of each military theater. The first two chapters cover the North Atlantic and Caribbean bases; the following seven survey Britain, North Africa, Sicily and Italy, the invasion of Normandy and southern France, the occupation of France, Belgium, and Germany. The remainder of the volume is centered on the Persian Corridor, the Southwest Pacific, the South and Central Pacific, China, Burma, and India. Political, economic, and military historians will find much in this volume that should interest them, especially the final chapter with various astute observations and conclusions by Bykofsky. He stresses the impact upon transportation operations (rail, inland waterways, and long-haul truck) of the diverse needs and environments of the various overseas commands. European and North African conditions were very different from those in the Pacific, the China-Burma-India area, Alaska, or the Persian Corridor. Special problems and opportunities arose in such spectacular operations as the amphibious landings and in cargo-handling operations at enemy ports after the initial assault and supply phase. The achievements of the Transportation Corps in the overseas commands were great, but were limited by the establishment of the Transportation Corps eight months after Pearl Harbor, the shortage of qualified transportation officers, the consequent shortage of Transportation Corps units in the overseas commands, the problems of utilizing native or local civilian manpower, and the initial lack of adequate transportation equipment (railway, shipping, and motor). In the victory over the Axis Powers, the vital role of transportation deserves the credit it here receives.

SIDNEY RATNER, *Rutgers University*

VICTORY IN PAPUA. By *Samuel Milner*. [U. S. Army in World War II: The War in the Pacific.] (Washington, D. C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. 1957. Pp. xv, 409. \$6.00.) This is a companion volume to John Miller's *Guadalcanal* in the Army series on the war in the Pacific. Both study the operations designed to halt the advance of the Japanese toward the Hawaii, Samoa, Fiji, and

New Caledonia line of communications between the United States and Australia. Success in Papua and Guadalcanal, achieved in February, 1943, put the Allied forces in a position to neutralize the Japanese base at Rabaul and, this accomplished, to begin the advance to the Philippines. The little-known Papuan campaign is significant for still other reasons. It was the battle test for a large but inexperienced United States Army force and its commanders "under the conditions which were to attend much of the ground fighting in the Pacific." For the student of military history, the campaign is most noteworthy for the tactical aspects of its final or beachhead phase, for it was in the hot, humid, fever infested swamps and jungle around the Buna-Gona beachhead that the Allies, for the first time in World War II, encountered and reduced an area fortified and defended in depth by the Japanese. Costly in casualties and suffering, the beachhead phase of the campaign taught lessons the Army had to learn if it was to cope with the Japanese under conditions of tropical warfare. It drove home the point that troops should be trained in the kind of warfare they had to be called upon to fight. Further, it revealed that improved communication between air and ground units was needed. Finally, it demonstrated, in deadly figures, that new tactics and weapons (such as the flame thrower) would have to be developed to destroy enemy jungle strongpoints. Readability, excellent maps and charts, and careful research in American, Australian, and Japanese sources make *Victory in Papua* a valuable contribution to the military history of World War II.

JAMES J. HUDSON, *University of Arkansas*

THE INVASION OF FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1944-1945. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. [History of United States Naval Operations in World War II, Volume XI.] (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown. 1957. Pp. xxviii, 360. \$6.50.) In 1940, a French officer began a plan for the return to the Continent with the words: "Having gotten ashore we shall drive toward Paris." The tremendous preparations and fighting courage needed to implement the first three words of that statement—in Normandy and southern France in June and August, 1944—are fully described in Professor Morison's volume. Excellent photographs, maps, and charts help make this one of the best studies of naval operations in World War II. Drawing heavily on the work of British and American official historians, whose aid he generously acknowledges, the author carefully examines the debates on strategy which preceded the landings. He deals firmly with the British charge that Admiral King starved the cross-channel operation to feed the Pacific. King, he says, "did better by Neptune than he promised." Morison admits, however, that the American admiral was tardy in allocating ships for gunfire support. He makes clear also that the Royal Navy supplied "the lion's share" of ships for this purpose. The stories of Neptune-Overlord, Dragoon, and several lesser operations in Europe in 1944-1945 are effectively told with details of planning, organization, landings, unloadings, build-ups, artificial port construction, and harbor reconstruction combined with numerous accounts of leadership and gallantry to make a graphic narrative. Naval gunfire not only supported the landings at the water's edge but continued to give aid as the ground forces advanced inland for several days. The 1st Division Chief of Staff, after reflecting on the hard-fought battle on Omaha Beach, wrote: "I am now firmly convinced that our supporting naval fire got us in; that without that gunfire we positively could not have crossed the beaches." Admiral Morison has no doubts as to the wisdom of the decision to land in southern France. He describes the invasion as "an almost perfect amphibious operation from the point of view of training, timing, Army-Navy-Air Force cooperation, performance and results."

FORREST C. POGUE, *Washington, D. C.*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

YALE AND THE MINISTRY: A HISTORY OF EDUCATION FOR THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY AT YALE FROM THE FOUNDING IN 1701. By *Roland H. Bainton*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. xiii, 297. \$5.00.) As an exposition of the shadings within Calvinist doctrines, this volume is admirably lucid and a welcome addition to the cataloguing of our ideas. It contains the best brief explanation of Jonathan Edwards' theology that I have found. Its description of some of the latter day Divinity School men—the Biblical theologians, Benjamin W. Bacon and Frank C. Porter, and the theological pragmatist Douglas C. Macintosh—will satisfy those who have suspected that Calvinism in this country was not moribund between the collapse of Dr. Holmes's "One-Hoss Shay" and today's neo-orthodoxy. Professor Bainton has called the roll of Yale's distinguished line of theologians with affection and wit. This is clearly a memorial of love by an outstanding scholar in behalf of his learned predecessors. Nevertheless, in some ways it is meaningless history. The author seems torn, like George Park Fisher before him, between "objectivity and commitment." Hence there is little thematic continuity. Despite the occasional summoning of the Reformation, Pietism, and the Enlightenment as themes, these are seldom traced clearly through the ideas of nineteenth-century Yale clergymen. Bainton forewarns that he is not obliged to enter into social history, but his very emphasis at times upon the "social concern" of Calvinism necessitates some linking to the large pattern of American life. Only in the most superficial way is this pattern sketched out. The resulting weakness is that a man like Ezra Stiles cannot be fully described or appreciated and men like Thomas Clap and Timothy Dwight, the Elder, come off better only because of their orthodoxy. Indeed, the chief "sociological explanation[s] of religious change" until the Civil War are given the reader only through charming quotations from Harriet Beecher Stowe. As educational history the book suffers from the filio-pietism that we have come to protest in many institutional histories. The author could have spent more time on the historical problems of American higher education. There remains instead the impression of a book written straight from notes taken in the archives. Happily, within all the anecdotal antiquarianism there is important doctrinal history.

WILSON SMITH, *Princeton University*

THE GREAT AWAKENING IN NEW ENGLAND. By *Edwin Scott Gaustad*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1957. Pp. 173. \$3.00.) The Great Awakening in New England, which reached its peak in 1741-1742 under the leadership of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, was one of the greatest of all religious revivals. It was the American phase of a much broader international and interdenominational movement which stemmed from German pietism and the great Wesleyan revival in England. Many of the ministers noted the decline of piety in New England by the early eighteenth century. The "institutionalizing" of religion resulted in a lack of personal concern in matters of the soul. Religion had become more a matter of instruction than of experience. The spread of rationalism and deism discounted the authority of the Bible. Puritanism was also weakened by the cultural transformation which came with

expanding trade and an increase in prosperity. Both Congregationalism and Calvinism were losing their grip under the impact of modern forces. Epidemics which struck many New England hamlets between 1735 and 1741 may have had a causal connection with the great revival of religion. Mr. Gaustad makes it clear that the Awakening was not essentially a frontier movement. Nor was it significant as a social upheaval as was the case in Virginia. The revival never divided New England horizontally; from the outset it embraced all classes. Its outstanding leaders were intellectuals; "it not only drifted down to the masses but was lifted up where even gentlemen could behold." Nor were there vertical geographical lines marking areas which were affected and untouched by the phenomenon. Its universality was pronounced. As was usual in all such upheavals, the Great Awakening produced deep antagonisms. Such practices as itinerant preaching, lay exhorting, the rash judgments and harsh condemnations by the New Lights of those who opposed the revival opened the doors to bitter recriminations. The New Lights were accused of lacking humility. Sharp divisions split churches, and Edwards himself was compelled to excoriate the "errors" of the extremists. The New England Awakening was largely a Congregationalist movement. The Baptists mostly held aloof although they took on a Calvinistic emphasis and New England became more hospitable toward them. The Presbyterians were chiefly affected by the Awakening in the Middle Colonies. The Church of England was bypassed although many who were skeptical of the revival experiences were attracted by the "orderliness and calm" of the Anglican services. Gaustad revises downward the estimates of numbers of converts. Among the changes produced by the revival he concludes that there was deeper loyalty to worship forms, greater emphasis upon Christian values for church membership, a more informal, direct style of preaching, and better educational standards for the clergy. Three colleges, Dartmouth, Princeton, and Brown, had their roots in the revivals. Above all, the new emphasis upon the responsibility of the individual for the welfare of his soul implied a broadening of the base of Calvinism. This study has the scholarly earmarks of the doctoral dissertation. It is written with detachment, balance, and restraint. The author has done well in integrating the many facets of this great movement and in interpreting its meaning and consequences.

W. M. GEWEHR, *University of Maryland*

ERRAND INTO THE WILDERNESS. By *Perry Miller*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1956. Pp. x, 244. \$4.75.) Stefan Zweig long resisted his friends' pleas to publish a volume of selected essays because, as he wrote: "To my mind every one of a conscientious writer's books should be an organic unity, not merely something held together by the two boards of the binding." Professor Miller has somewhat similar scruples, although he manages to lay them aside for this collection of "pieces" (he refuses to call them essays), by laying claim to the pursuit of the "beginning of a beginning" in American history, "the uniqueness of the American experience," and the "inner logic of the research" as themes of all his remarkable studies and as sources of organic unity for these pieces. Whether an organic unity emerges is, perhaps, of secondary importance. What is of primary value is the fact that within these two boards are reprinted, with some slight revisions and a good index, ten of Miller's pieces, several of which were difficult of access and all of which are useful and provocative articles. With the exception of the first piece, which was an address given in 1952 and which furnishes the title for the volume, the articles have been published previously. Here are such splendid pieces of exposition and interpretation as "Thomas Hooker and the Democracy of Connecticut," "The Marrow of Puritan Divinity," (with its useful explanation and corrective in the introductory statement), "Religion

and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia," "The Puritan State and Puritan Society," "Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening," "The Rhetoric of Sensation," "From Edwards to Emerson," "Nature and the National Ego," and "The End of the World." "Errand into the Wilderness" is a beautiful example of what Miller probably means by the reference to his constant interest in the "inner logic of the research." The title derives from an election sermon of 1670 by the Reverend Samuel Danforth, and the "errand" serves as a "metaphor" whereby Miller seeks "to make out some deeper configuration in the story [of the founding of New England] than a mere modification, by obvious and natural necessity, of an imported European culture in adjustment to a frontier." The "errand" was the business of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, to set an example of a true Christian commonwealth for the entire world. It failed, or the ministers and some of the magistrates in the second half of the seventeenth century believed that it had failed, and they sought to explain it in sermons and histories which condemned the second generation of New Englanders for corruption, worldliness, and a variety of other sins adding up to a betrayal of the spirit and the purpose of the founders. But to Miller New England did not fail; it succeeded gloriously—only to find that Old England and the rest of the world had no interest in its accomplishment and were even inclined to condemn it. So the New Englanders turned upon themselves "in bewilderment, confusion, chagrin"; but there was no surrender. New England was still on an errand, though New Englanders no longer knew what it was. In the search for new definition they found America. The "inner logic" of the "Errand into the Wilderness," then, becomes Americanization! Miller points out that "Puritan intellectuals were thoroughly grounded in grammar and rhetoric," and he would probably agree that they were also thoroughly grounded in the fine art of soul-searching introspection. Could it not have been, then, that within the framework of their own inner logic as of, say, 1670, they clearly recognized a creeping sinfulness which really was a betrayal of the founders' "errand" and which, regardless of what the rest of the world thought, they sought, however unsuccessfully, to arrest and to redirect New Englanders toward the original objectives? And may it not still be held that that original messianic "errand" was in itself peculiarly American?

RAYMOND P. STEARNS, *University of Illinois*

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES. Volume XXII, THE TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, 1821-1824. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1956. Pp. xiii, 1129. \$8.25.) This and the succeeding volumes of the *Territorial Papers* relating to Florida will be of interest chiefly to students of Florida history. These are territorial papers of a federal nature, principally the correspondence between officials of the federal government and the governors and other officials in the territory. But they by no means deal exclusively with administrative and political matters. Students of social and economic affairs will find a great many references to climate, resources, and people as well as such governmental problems as Jackson's haggling diplomacy with the departing Spaniards, the persistent pleas of office seekers, the clamorous demands for immediate removal of the Indians, the urgency of clearing land claims from the British and Spanish periods, and the necessity for roads and canals to open up the interior of the unexplored peninsula. This volume maintains the high standard of selection and editing already established and promises to students of Florida history the most valuable addition to documentary sources yet published. The editor has excluded papers previously edited and published in good form except where a single document completes a series or is referred to frequently. Excluded also are documents which the editor considers relevant but trivial and those that contain duplicate information. All such exclusions are, however, carefully cited in footnotes. Only 68 of the 790 documents in this volume have previously appeared in print. A most valuable feature of the editing is the footnotes which provide background for the documents, identify persons and places, cite the location of other relevant documents, and give cross references. The 140-page index is a complete and accurate guide to the use of the documents.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU, *University of Miami*

LEE CHRONICLE: STUDIES OF THE EARLY GENERATIONS OF THE LEES OF VIRGINIA. By *Cazenove Gardner Lee, Jr.* Compiled and edited by *Dorothy Mills Parker*. (New York: New York University Press. 1957. Pp. xx, 411. \$6.50.) This book brings together material about the Lee family which was compiled and written between 1922 and 1939 by the late Cazenove Gardner Lee in a series of articles in the *Magazine of the Society of the Lees of Virginia*. Mr. Lee's interests ranged widely, including such matters as the genealogy of the English forebears of the family, the lands its members acquired in Virginia and Maryland, the houses they built, the families into which they married, the portraits for which they sat, and the location of the cemeteries in which they found their final resting places. The book is attractively bound, abundantly illustrated with maps and plates, and adequately indexed. The reader, however, will look in vain for new and deeper insights into the Lees as statesmen, scholars, planters, and soldiers, for this phase of the family's history was covered more fully and more perceptively by Burton J. Hendrick in his *Lees of Virginia*. Edmund J. Lee wrote a more comprehensive account of the family genealogy in his *Lee of Virginia*, although the present volume sheds some additional light on this subject. Cazenove Lee is obviously familiar with the principal collections of family papers, although he is surprisingly selective in the use he makes of them. His interest centers mainly in the first Richard Lee, founder of the Virginia family, his grandson, Thomas, and two of the famous sons of the latter, Richard Henry and William. His discussions of these men include little material that is new, and his failure to write from a critical or analytical viewpoint of their careers or personalities, or to add any significant new information about their public services, severely limits the value of the book for the historian. Genealogists, antiquarians, and those with a special interest in the Lee family will find the book of interest; the historical scholar who is seeking a deeper insight into the Lee family and the significant position it occupies in the history of the nation will probably find it disappointing.

JAMES L. BUGG, JR., *University of Missouri*

THE LETTERS OF WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS. Volume III, 1850-1857; Volume IV, 1858-1866; Volume V, 1867-1870. Collected and edited by *Mary C. Simms Oliphant* and *T. C. Duncan Eaves*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1954; 1955; 1956. Pp. xxv, 564; xxv, 643; xxiii, 571. \$8.50 each volume.) Both the editors and the publishers of these three volumes have maintained the high standard they set in the first two volumes of the series. The exacting and tedious work of identifying persons, places, events, and literary references where there is the slightest doubt about them is done with meticulous care and thoroughness. Where the original manuscript of the letter included has not been discovered, full data is given about the copy used. There are illuminating cross references to incoming letters and helpful biographical data about correspondents and people to whom they refer. If a letter has been previously published in full or in part, the reader is not only informed of the fact but is told how reliable the previously published version is. There is an index for each volume, and the final volume contains approximately 150 pages of a thorough "General Index" of all volumes and an "Index of Simms's Works." The editors have earned and deserved high praise for a thoroughly admirable piece of scholarship. As for the value of the material they have edited, it is difficult to exaggerate. This is especially true of the last three volumes, which cover the two eventful and revolutionary decades from 1850 to 1870. Simms was always a well-informed if partisan observer and took a keen interest in political as well as literary events. His letters are therefore a rich source for South Carolina, Southern, and national history. After the Civil War, however, his struggles to keep his large family alive became so desperate

that he deliberately turned aside from public events. "I remain silent because speech is inadequate," he wrote. The picture of the man that emerges from these letters underlines the inadequacies of the biography by W. P. Trent and makes Simms all the more interesting and significant.

C. VANN WOODWARD, *Johns Hopkins University*

POLITICAL TENDENCIES IN LOUISIANA, 1812-1952. By *Perry H. Howard*. [Louisiana State University Studies, Social Science Series Number 5.] (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1957. Pp. xix, 229. \$3.75.) Professor Howard has set for himself a large order. In this study, which he calls an ecological analysis, he attempts to identify basic political tendencies in Louisiana, relate them to geographic, economic, and social bases, and then to trace these tendencies historically. For the most part, the author depends on various historical studies of Louisiana, both published and unpublished, and rarely utilizes primary sources. Rather, he makes his contribution in the careful selection from these secondary studies of materials bearing on his thesis, which in brief is that regional and class factors lie at the basis of political behavior in Louisiana as elsewhere. He illustrates and supports this thesis by numerous maps showing election returns by parishes in elections when important issues were at stake, such as secession in 1860-1861; reconstruction, 1865-1877; populism, 1892-1896; Longism, 1928-1949, and the 1952 election. Howard's work is not unlike some other recent studies of political behavior, and it illustrates both strengths and weaknesses of such works. Personalities and local issues are treated only slightly if at all; the author's explanation of Longism, for example, leaves only a limited role for Huey Long himself. However excellently maps and analysis describe political tendencies, in this reviewer's judgment, such tendencies cannot be explained adequately without more attention to political leadership and more thorough analysis of political issues. On the other hand, Howard's many maps and the good use he makes of them, along with his analysis of election returns, furnish the historian a good example of the search for meaning in political data.

J. CARLYLE SITTERSON, *University of North Carolina*

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1900-1930: THE MAKING OF A MODERN UNIVERSITY. By *Louis R. Wilson*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1957. Pp. xxi, 633. \$7.50.) In 1900 the University of North Carolina, first state university in the country to open its doors, was still a small institution. The faculty numbered twenty members of professional rank and six instructors. It had 512 students, only ten per cent more than in ante bellum days. By 1930, the faculty had been increased ninefold and the regular student body was five times greater than a generation earlier. Beyond this, the enrollment in summer, extension, and correspondence courses exceeded six thousand. These figures only hint at the true development of the University. During this thirty-year period, the University of North Carolina became a truly great institution. A distinguished faculty with able administrative leadership had raised Chapel Hill from an obscure Piedmont village to a seat of learning renowned throughout the land. The story of the transformation is ably told in this volume. Probably no one was in as good a position to tell it as Louis R. Wilson, University Librarian from 1901 to 1932 and an important participant in subsequent developments. He has made excellent use of a wide range of appropriate documents, of earlier secondary accounts, and of his own rich, personal knowledge. Despite frequent cataloguing of the names of apparently every faculty member during the period, the reader can easily trace significant developments: securing and retaining superior faculty members, obtaining state support, winning material recognition from

alumni and other private sources, laying out an architectural plan, establishing student responsibility, reorganizing curricula, acquiring a library, developing programs of research and publication, lifting the level of public education, and providing a variety of services to the state, the South, and the nation. This is the story of the emergence of a great university.

WILLIAM H. CARTWRIGHT, *Duke University*

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

JAMES WALLACE OF MACALESTER. By *Edwin Kagin*. With a foreword by *DeWitt Wallace*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1957. Pp. 255. \$3.50.) Small, church-related colleges, tribute to invincible sectarianism, sprouted too thickly in the nineteenth century for a land only beginning to wax fat. Many succumbed to financial starvation; others limped on in undistinguished poverty; and some, usually more fortunately located or blessed with superior leadership, rose to relative security and note. Macalester College enjoyed both advantages. Situated between St. Paul and Minneapolis, it was carried through the winter of its distress by the superb leadership of James Wallace. Born in Ohio, Wallace was educated at the College of Wooster and, in 1887, went to Macalester as professor of Greek. Difficulties beset him. He fought autocratic administrators and suffered from humiliating poverty and the constant fear that Macalester might close its doors to its handful of students and its numerous creditors. In 1894 he assumed the presidency, the distasteful chores of which evoked the acid and timeless description of the college president: "If he can read or write so much the better, but he must be able to raise money." When his incredible labors had increased the enrollment, discharged the debt, and begun the endowment of the college, Wallace retired as president but remained as professor until 1927. This volume is not a historical work in the usual sense, being innocent of index, bibliography, and citations. It is, rather, a warm biographical tribute that succeeds in bringing Wallace to life in his strengths and foibles. It has value for the social historian as a case study of the staggering difficulties involved in bringing higher education to the outer marches. James Wallace was typical of a devoted band, too few to save all western colleges but numerous enough to contribute significantly to the cultural development of interior America.

DONALD F. WARNER, *Wisconsin State College, Eau Claire*

CATHOLIC COLONIZATION ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER. By *James P. Shannon*. [Yale Publications in American Studies, I.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1957. Pp. xiii, 302. \$5.00.) In this handsome volume, Father James Shannon is primarily concerned with the work of Bishop John Ireland of St. Paul in establishing ten colonies of Catholic farmers in western and southwestern Minnesota between 1875 and 1885. Other colonizing efforts, such as those of the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union in Virginia and Kansas and those of the more ambitious Irish

Catholic Colonization Association in Nebraska and Minnesota, are also described. But because they were failures, or succeeded only insofar as they enjoyed the advantages of Ireland's colonies, their function in this book is to throw the light of contrast upon Ireland's performance. His colonies succeeded because they had episcopal support, aid from the railroads in the form of transportation, land grants and credit, and the benefits of businesslike management. Business, church, and state cooperated to build Minnesota. The book agrees with earlier studies that Catholic colonization did not relieve the crowded Catholic slums of cities. The Minnesota settlers had been farmers or small businessmen in Europe or North America, equipped with the capital, the character, and the desire to farm the prairies. Philanthropic efforts to settle the impoverished on the land invariably failed. In creating the new man the frontier was limited by its human resources. But John Ireland's work is not to be judged by its effects upon eastern cities, but rather by the enduring character it has given to the culture of the Midwest. Minnesota today has the largest Catholic population of any state in the northwestern Mississippi Valley. Using a wide variety of sources, Shannon gives insight into the character of early Midwestern Catholicism. The colonies were not prairie ghettos; they accepted the dominant American values. Committed to business competition, including market farming and land speculation, they were pious but tolerant and esteemed bourgeois respectability (settlers were required to take the pledge of total abstinence). Had the author related his study more closely to the changing Catholic social thought of the 1870's and 1880's, as expressed in the immigrant press, thus taking into consideration radical demands for federal aid to colonization endorsed by Patrick Ford and John Boyle O'Reilly, the character of Bishop Ireland's colonization movement would have been more sharply etched. Despite this omission and minor errors in dealing with the Irish and Irish-American background, this study provides rewarding reading for students of American social and cultural history.

THOMAS N. BROWN, *Silver Spring, Maryland*

PIONEER YEARS IN THE BLACK HILLS. By *Richard B. Hughes*. Edited by *Agnes Wright Spring*. [Western Frontiersmen Series, VI.] (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1957. Pp. 366.) This volume consists of the reminiscences of Richard B. Hughes who, at the age of twenty, cast in his lot with the turbulent and ebullient mining society of the Black Hills. Hughes's arrival in the spring of 1876 was early enough to enable him to observe the whole course of the region's development. The account, written in 1926, amply attests the skill of the newspaper reporter which Hughes became in 1880 after his prospecting ventures proved fruitless. A diary kept during the first few years of his residence supplied the chronological thread (the greater portion of this diary is included in the appendixes). Eschewing the sensationalism which characterizes so much of the literature about early Deadwood, Hughes recalls for the reader the hazardous and by no means unexciting life endured in the search for sudden wealth. The account includes an intimate description of the "panning" and "sluicing," incidental to prospecting, and such inevitable topics as mining stampedes, Indian depredations, amusements, and road agents. Of particular interest is the constant trek of disillusioned gold seekers out of the Hills. The volume is divided into three sections. The first part describes with considerable detail the three-week journey from Sidney, Nebraska, to Deadwood by way of Custer. The second part covers prospecting activities in the Northern Hills and gives a portrayal of life in and around Deadwood prior to 1880. The last section is briefly devoted to the subsequent career of Hughes in Rapid City as editor, a member of the first state legislature, and surveyor-general during the Cleveland administration. This is

definitely one of the better personal accounts of early Black Hills life, and its value has been greatly enhanced by the superb editing of Mrs. Spring.

HERBERT S. SCHELL, *State University of South Dakota*

Errata: The reviewer of *The Journal of Captain John R. Bell* informs us that the sentence in his review identifying the first climbers of Pike's Peak should read: "Dr. James, a scientist, and two civilian members of the expedition were the first white men to climb the mountain" (*AHR*, LXIII [October, 1957], 244).

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Latin American History

Stanley J. Stein¹

DOCUMENTOS INÉDITOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE COLOMBIA. Volume IV, 1533-1538. Collected by Juan Friede. (Bogotá: Academia Colombiana de Historia, 1956. Pp. 393.) In 1948, the Academia Colombiana de Historia at Bogotá commissioned its corresponding member, Juan Friede, to begin the selection from the Archives of the Indies at Seville of the present collection of unpublished documents relating to the period of discovery and conquest of Colombia to 1550, when the Real Audiencia was established. The first volume, covering the period 1509-1528, appeared in 1955, seven years after the work had been authorized. The arrangement is chronological. The orthography has been modernized with abbreviations spelled out. Marginal notes are used fairly frequently for identification or for indication of content. There are very few editorial notes. Of documents of general character, only those sections relating to Colombia are reproduced. Documents deemed to be of lesser interest are summarized. At the end of the volume Friede indicates the documents or sections of documents of the present collection in the great "Colección Muñoz," made in the late eighteenth century, which is at the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. There are separate volume indexes to places, persons, and topics. Although published at Bogotá, Colombia, the work is being printed in Madrid, making for convenience in handling the proof. The

¹ Responsible for the list of articles.

period actually covered in the present volume is 1535 (not 1533 as on the cover and title page) to 1538. For such a basic collection of documents relating to Colombia, it would seem useful if consideration could be given to having a few sets printed on a more permanent paper for deposit in some of the national libraries. Appearance of the volume itself raises the question as to how far the unpublished documents of the period of Spanish discovery and conquest have been and are being made available in print.

JAMES B. CHILDS, *Library of Congress*

QUATORZE CALVINISTES CHEZ LES TOPINAMBOUS: HISTOIRE D'UNE MISSION GENEVOISE AU BRÉSIL (1556-1558). By *Olivier Reverdin*. (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz; Paris: Librairie Minard. 1957. Pp. 109.) The author of this little paper-bound volume tells again the story of the most serious attempt, among several, of the French to challenge the Portuguese claim to Brazil. The undertaking was directed by Admiral Gaspar de Coligny for the professed purpose of finding a refuge for his harassed religionists, and incidentally of evangelizing the "savages" at the heart of the region renamed "Antarctic France." Under the leadership of Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon, the venture was perhaps as much for the general enlargement of the power and prestige of Henry II's empire. In any event, this disciple of Calvin led more than a hundred persons, both Huguenots and Catholics, to the Bay of Rio de Janeiro to establish a French colony. Although the interlopers fortified several islands in the bay and attempted to cultivate friendly relations with the Topinambous "savages," the venture was broken up by the Portuguese Governor Mem de Sá in 1560, his task made the easier by dissensions among the followers of Villegagnon. Following arrangements with the government of Henry II, the officials of the Huguenot church at Geneva dispatched fourteen of its missionaries to participate in the establishment of the colony on the Brazilian bay. Calvin's mandates to his faithful fourteen stressed two objectives: to establish a refuge for Huguenots and to evangelize the "savages" (the Topinambous). Hitherto the accounts of this mid-sixteenth-century venture into Brazil have been based primarily upon the uncritical, often polemical, works of Jean de Léry and Jean Crespin. Reverdin bases his study largely upon the correspondence of persons contemporary to and participants in the venture and seems to subject his material to a critical, objective analysis. Though not indicated in his title, his account ties the religious into the broader aspects of the venture very nicely.

LAWRENCE F. HILL, *Ohio State University*

HISTORIOGRAFÍA DEL BRASIL, SIGLO XVI. By *José Honório Rodrigues*. [Historiografías, IV.] (Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, Comisión de Historia. 1957. Pp. 102.) Previous volumes of the Comisión de Historia's historiographic series have covered both colonial and national eras; presumably several books will be devoted to each of the larger countries. In this volume, the first on Brazil, José Honório Rodrigues, one of his country's leading historians, librarians, and editors, critically analyzes the contemporary accounts of Brazil's first century of historical existence. The book is divided into four sections: the first epoch, 1500-1549; the Jesuit accounts; the chronicles; and the foreign descriptions and notices. Each item is viewed as a historical document; the first and subsequent editions are indicated, and in relevant cases the location of the manuscript; the value of the critical editions, if any, and an analysis of previous evaluations are also discussed. As expected, attention is paid in the case of foreign works to Portuguese translations. Aside from his own penetrating evaluation of the early accounts of Brazil, Rodrigues naturally

has relied on previous historians. The names of Jaime Cortesão, Serafim Leite, Varnhagen, and Capistrano de Abreu, among others, appear frequently. There is perhaps too much discussion of Capistrano, which may be explained by his current revival in Brazil and by the fact that the author is one of Capistrano's leading editors. This volume may well serve as a model for future numbers of the series. Certainly it will be indispensable for the student both of sixteenth-century Brazil and of Brazilian historiography. The work was written in Portuguese, and the translation is by Antonio Alatorre. Unfortunately, here and there Portuguese titles have been partially Castilianized. Such minor defects point to the major question of why this work appears in Castilian; its specialized nature and appeal would have been made more effective if it had been left in the original.

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER, *Georgetown University*

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- WINSLOW, OLA ELIZABETH. *Master Roger Williams: A Biography*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1957. Pp. xi, 328. \$6.00.
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- ZARNECKI, GEORGE. *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture: Lead Fonts of the Twelfth Century*. New York: Philosophical Library. 1957. Pp. vii, 46, 81 plates. \$4.75.
- ZORNOW, WILLIAM FRANK. *Kansas: A History of the Jayhawk State*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1957. Pp. xii, 417. \$4.95.

* * * * *Historical News* * * * *

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Considerable expense and delay are involved when the Association is not quickly informed of a member's change of address. When copies of the *Review* are returned because of faulty address, the members either do not receive them or receive them late, and there is an additional cost to the Association of about 40 cents. Members should notify the Association, at 400 A Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C., of any change of address before the fifteenth of the month preceding *Review* publication (before March 15, June 15, September 15, December 15). The *Review* cannot promise to supply back copies beyond six months after publication, though back copies of published issues are often available from the Macmillan Company. Members not receiving their *Review* should notify the Association office immediately.

Competition is open for the following prizes, to be offered by the American Historical Association at the 1958 annual meeting: *Herbert Baxter Adams Prize* (\$200), for a monograph in manuscript or in print in the field of European history. Work must be submitted by June 1, 1958. *George Louis Beer Prize* (about \$200), for the best work, in print or manuscript, on European international history since 1895. Work must be submitted by June 1, 1958. *Albert J. Beveridge Award* (\$1,000 plus royalty of five per cent after cost of publication; publication for honorable mention), for the best complete original manuscript (of 50,000–125,000 words) in English on American history (United States, Canada, and Latin America). The manuscript must be the author's first or second work and must be submitted, in legible ribbon copy, before May 1, 1958. *John H. Dunning Prize* (about \$140), for a monograph in manuscript or in print on any subject relating to American history. Work must be submitted by June 1, 1958. *Watumull Prize* (\$500), for the best work on the history of India originally published in the United States. Three copies of the work must be submitted by September 15, 1958. Cash values of all awards are subject to change.

The Old Dominion Foundation has made a grant to the American Historical Association to continue, on a limited scale and for one year, the microfilming of German war documents in the United States and England.

The American Historical Association has received a grant from the Council on Library Resources, Inc., to prepare a Guide to Photographed Historical Materials in the United States and Canada. The Canadian Historical Association is

cooperating in the project. The American Historical Association's Committee on Documentary Reproduction will supervise the work, which will be directed by Professor Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston University. Preparation of the Guide will take about two years, and publication will follow.

Those who wish to make suggestions or obtain further information should write to Dr. Richard W. Hale, Jr., Boston University, Copley Square Campus, 84 Exeter Street, Room 401, Boston 15, Massachusetts.

INTERNATIONAL HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

The Executive Committee (the Bureau) of the International Committee of the Historical Sciences will hold its 1958 meetings in the United States. Its members will arrive in Boston on Sunday, October 5, and between then and Saturday, October 18, will hold meetings and make a trip that will include various institutions on the Atlantic seaboard between Boston and Washington. Members of the Bureau will be available for some speaking engagements, either before or after the scheduled trip. Those interested in arranging for such speaking engagements should communicate with the American member of the Bureau, Donald C. McKay, 100 Woodside Avenue, Amherst, Massachusetts, indicating subjects desired, nature of the occasion, honoraria (if available), etc.

The members of the Bureau expected (the list is not yet quite firm) are: Professor Federico Chabod, University of Rome (president); Sir Charles Webster, Professor of History, Emeritus, University of London (vice-president); Professor Torwald Höjer, University of Stockholm (vice-president); Professor Robert Fawtier, Professor of History, Emeritus, Sorbonne (former president); Professor Michel François, École des Chartres (secretary general); Professor Louis Junod, University of Lausanne (treasurer); and the following members—Professors I. J. Brugmans, University of Amsterdam; A. A. Gouber, vice-president of the Soviet National Historical Committee; Gerhard Ritter, University of Freiburg; and Heinrich Schmid, University of Vienna. Messrs. Chabod, Junod, and Schmid speak German, French, and Italian; the other members of the Bureau speak English, as well as certain other languages.

Any further suggestions of subjects for historical papers for the Congress at Stockholm, August 21–28, 1960, should be sent to Mr. McKay as soon as possible, and not later than February 15, 1958. Each paper should bear some, though not necessarily an intimate, relationship to one of the Reports. A list of the Reports, which are to be printed and circulated in advance of the Congress, is presented here (the list represents decisions reached at the meetings of the Bureau in Lausanne, Switzerland, in June, 1957):

I. *Methodology*: 1. Die Wirkung der Geschichtsphilosophie des XIX Jahrhunderts auf die gegenwärtige Geschichtswissenschaft, Dr. E. Rothacker (Heidelberg, Germany); 2. The History of the Writing of History, Professor H. Butterfield (Cambridge, England); 3. Cultural History, Its Development and Methods,

Professor F. Gilbert (Bryn Mawr, United States); 4. L'histoire des sciences et de la technique, Professor A. J. Forbes (Amsterdam, Netherlands); 5. La périodisation de l'histoire universelle, Professor E. M. Joukov (Moscow, U.S.S.R.); 6. Les méthodes de la démographie historique et le problème de la mortalité dans son incidence sur l'histoire générale, Messrs. Henry and L. Chevalier (Paris, France).

II. *Antiquity*: 1. The Problem of Mycenaean Culture and Script, Professor Sterling Dow (Harvard, United States); 2. La democratizzazione della cultura nel Basso Impero, Professor S. Mazzarino (Catania, Italy); 3. Le processus du développement historique et le rôle historique des états antiques sur le littoral de la Mer Noire, Professor V. O. Blavatski (Moscow, U.S.S.R.); 4. Die Sklaverei in der griechisch-römischen Welt, Dr. S. Lauffer (Munich, Germany); 5. La numismatique impériale romaine comme source de l'histoire économique et financière, M. Guey (Lyon, France); 6. Les populations et civilisations dans la vallée du Danube de l'époque pré-romaine au début du Moyen-Age, Professor C. Daicoviciu-Iasi and I. Nestor (Bucharest, Roumania).

III. *Middle Ages*: 1. From Tang to Sung: The Transitional Period in Chinese and East Asia's History, Professor T. Yamamoto (Tokyo, Japan); 2. The Social Structure of Russia in the Early Middle Ages, Professor Rahbek-Schmidt (Aarhus, Denmark); 3. Law and the Medieval Historian, Dr. W. Ullmann (London, England); 4. Die geschichtliche Bedeutung der germanischen Auffassung vom Königtum und Adel, Dr. K. Hauck (Erlangen, Germany); 5. La città comunale italiana dei secoli XII e XIII nelle sue note caratteristiche, rispetto al movimento comunale europeo, Professor E. Sestan (Florence, Italy); 6. Problèmes actuels sur les institutions ecclésiastiques du Moyen-Age, Professor G. Le Bras (Holy See).

IV. *Modern History*: 1. *Dominium maris Baltici*, XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, Professor G. Labuda (Poznan, Poland); 2. Estructura administrativa estatal en los siglos XVI^e y XVII^e, Professor V. Vives (Barcelona, Spain); 3. L'illuminismo nel settecento europeo, Professor F. Venturi (Genoa, Italy); 4. La période de transition du féodalisme au capitalisme du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle en Europe centrale, Professors Klima and Macurek (Prague, Brno, Czechoslovakia); 5. Problèmes de la Réforme dans les pays scandinaves, Dr. S. Kjöllerstrom (Lund, Sweden); 6. Les rapports politiques entre l'est et l'ouest européens pendant la guerre de Trente Ans, Professor R. F. Porchnev (Moscow, U.S.S.R.).

V. *Contemporary History*: 1. British Overseas Settlements and Self-Government since 1783, Professor Vincent T. Harlow (Oxford, England); 2. Les problèmes de l'émigration aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles, Professor Ingrid Semmingsen (Oslo, Norway); 3. Le socialisme et la première guerre mondiale, Professor Haag (Louvain, Belgium); 4. Les problèmes nationaux dans la monarchie des Habsbourgs, Dr. F. Zwitter (Ljubliana, Jugoslavia); 5. Traditional Culture and Modern Developments in India, Professor N. Brown (Pennsylvania, United States); 6. Les problèmes de la structure des entreprises au XIX^e siècle, M. Girard (Paris, France).

Two colloquia have also been organized, to take place just before the opening of the Congress, one on "European Universities in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance," Professor Stelling-Michaud (Geneva, Switzerland), and one on "Price History before 1750," Professor E. J. Hamilton (Chicago, United States). The opening and closing addresses of the Congress will be given by Swedish historians and will have for their respective themes: "International Relations in the North in the Age of the Vikings," and "The Baltic and the Mediterranean from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries."

The plans of the Swedish National Committee for the Congress are moving forward. The King, himself an archaeologist, will greet the delegates at the opening session in Stockholm.

The Sixth Anglo-American Conference of Historians was held July 8-13, 1957, at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London. A full report of this conference will be published in the *Bulletin* of the Institute; this interim summary will serve to outline the character and activities of the conference, which was well attended by 750 historians from American and British universities in the proportion of roughly one to six. The meetings were admirably diversified in character and scope; general meetings, sectional meetings, expeditions, and social gatherings were well spaced.

A cosmopolitan analysis of "The Bond of the Common Law," by A. L. Goodhart, now master of University College, Oxford, opened the series of conference papers. Other general meeting speakers were A. D. Momigliano, whose "Herodotus and the Formation of Modern Historiography" would alone have lent distinction to any academic festival, and Julian P. Boyd, who learnedly traced through some three centuries "The Role of the Editor of Historical Documents in America." The first meeting was followed by a tribute to Sir Hilary Jenkinson and the presentation of a *festschrift*; the other two afforded opportunity for lively discussion.

Twenty-four sectional meetings covered fields as diverse as Byzantine diplomacy, the social development of Hungary in the nineteenth century, and the use of oral evidence in West African history, as well as topics in more familiar areas, such as the Irish university question, James I and Anglo-Scottish unity, the landscape of American culture, Burke, the third earl Grey, Cornwallis, the Hussites, the citizens of York in the thirteenth century, immigrant imperialism in Massachusetts under Shirley, and the Estates of Wurtemberg. Bernard Bailyn's brilliant paper on politics and social structure in seventeenth-century Virginia and J. Brooke's deliberately controversial account of Burke's relations with Rockingham, concluding with the statement that the philosopher's mentality was that of a family retainer, both provoked amusing and useful contributions from the floor. So did Donald G. Barnes's lively defense of Cornwallis and J. B. Conacher's discussion of the tenuous and fortuitous character of party alignments as contrasted with the importance of personal relationships among the Peelites, 1846-1859.

Stress will be laid by American participants on the plan of the organizers of the English meetings and the stern discipline imposed on and accepted by the speakers selected. Speakers limited their remarks to forty minutes of the hour and a quarter sessions; there were no multiple paper meetings nor were there any announced and formal commentators. This ensured time for discussion, the high standard of which was generally admitted and valued. In the debates, participation from both sides of the Atlantic was equally spontaneous and profitable.

The Conference as usual spaced out the general and sectional meetings with well-arranged tours to places in and around London, this year reaching as far as Colchester and its castle, with a most rewarding stop at Ingatestone Hall, home of the Essex County Record office (surely a model for all such institutions), Chichester, and St. Albans. A brief trip on the Grand Canal in spite of rain proved unexpectedly fascinating and illustrated the function of these waterways both in the days of the Bridgewater experiments and now in an age of competing transportation systems. Many of the conferees were received, also in the rain, by the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace where tea and exhibits of medieval manuscripts and of Americana from the collection there were attractions. A round of officially organized and privately sponsored parties provided hospitality for everyone and ample chance for conversation. Once more Americans must thank the Institute, its director, its secretaries, and staff for their enormous labors.

The 1958 Conference will be held in London, July 10-12. American scholars who expect to be in England at that time should write the Institute for details.

The problems of furthering research in Marxism and Leninism on an international basis were the subject of a conference of scholars from European countries and the United States held in Amsterdam, August 1-3, 1957. The conclusion was that there is a need for intensifying objective scientific research activities in this field, for additional collaboration, and some coordination of research efforts. In order to further these interests, the conference resolved to encourage international cooperation in editing source materials, educating young scholars, and forwarding individual research. Among the participants were A. G. Meyer of Michigan State University and G. L. Kline of New York.

The European Association for American Studies held its second meeting at the Fondation des États-Unis in Paris, September 3-6, 1957; the first was held at Salzburg in 1954. The 1957 program concentrated on three themes: "Emigration-Immigration," "The Businessman in America and Europe," and "The Frontier—An American Phenomenon?" Four historians from the United States presented papers: Arthur Bestor, University of Illinois, "The Transit of Communitarian Socialism to America"; Jeannette P. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, "Mistaken Notions Concerning the Role of the American Businessman" (a critique of papers by Edgar Salin, University of Basle, and Louis Landré, University of Paris, analyzing and comparing American business types); Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, "The Present State of American Research on the Fron-

tier Problem"; and Dietrich Gerhard, Washington University and University of Cologne, "The American Frontier in Comparative View." The convention elected Max Silberschmidt, University of Zurich, as president, Richard Pear, London School of Economics, as chairman of the executive committee, and Dietrich Gerhard as editor of the *Newsletter*. The EAAS is planning for a 1958 meeting. Hospitality was extended by Dr. Robert O. Mead, director, Fondation des États-Unis, and Mrs. Mead, and by the Honorable George W. Perkins, United States Ambassador to NATO, and Mrs. Perkins. Other Americans in attendance included George Adams, Salzburg Seminar; Jesse Bier, Montana State University; Donald Brandon, American Embassy, Bonn; John Hamilton, United States Information Agency, Paris; Eleanora Mancuso, American Embassy, Rome; and Theodore Marburg, Marquette University.

The Second International Congress of Historians of the United States and Mexico will be held on November 4-6, 1958, at the University of Texas, Austin. Its sponsors in the United States are the University of Texas, the American Historical Association, and the Texas State Historical Association; the Mexican sponsors are the University of Mexico, the Institute of Anthropology and History, and the Academy of Historical Sciences of Monterrey. The program includes sessions on "Pre-Hispanic Peoples of the United States and Mexico," "The Medieval Iberian Frontier, 800-1500," "Mexican and American Conceptions of the Frontier," "Society and Culture in the United States and Mexico: The Texas Ranch and the Mexican Hacienda," "The Great Frontier Concept, 1500-1950," "The Historian's Task from the American and Mexican Viewpoint," and "Higher Education in the United States and Mexico." Inquiries concerning the conference should be directed to Archibald R. Lewis, Secretary General, Second International Congress of Historians of the United States and Mexico, University of Texas, Austin 12, Texas.

OTHER HISTORICAL MEETINGS

A symposium entitled "Some Ideas, Areas and Factors in 20th Century American Diplomatic History" was held August 20-30, at Lawrence, Kansas, sponsored by the department of history of the University of Kansas. Participants included Richard N. Current, Wisconsin; John A. DeNovo, Pennsylvania State University; Fritz T. Epstein, Library of Congress; Robert H. Ferrell, Indiana University; Louis L. Gerson, University of Connecticut; James C. Malin, University of Kansas; William L. Neumann, Goucher College; Louis Martin Sears, Purdue; Roland N. Stromberg, University of Maryland. Symposium director and discussion leader was George L. Anderson. The papers presented will be published.

The Society of American Archivists held its annual business meeting in Columbus, Ohio, October 3, 1957. Officers for 1957-1958 are as follows: president,

William D. Overman, Akron, Ohio; vice-president, Oliver W. Holmes, National Archives; secretary, Dolores C. Renzo, Denver, Colorado; treasurer, Leon deValinger, Jr., Dover, Delaware; and editor, Philip G. Bauer, Bethesda, Maryland.

The fourth annual meeting of the Midwest Conference on British Historical Studies was held at the University of Chicago on November 2-3, 1957, with about sixty people attending. Papers were read by D. J. McDougall, Toronto, on "Canada and Ireland, a Contrast in Constitutional Development," by R. S. Hoyt, Minnesota, on "Domesday, Satellites and Circuits," and by W. C. Richardson, Louisiana State University, and L. Baldwin Smith, Northwestern, on "Recent Work on the Tudor Period." J. F. C. Harrison of Leeds University spoke at the dinner on "Recent Researches on the Chartist Movement." Herbert Heaton, Minnesota, has been succeeded as chairman by Charles F. Mullett, Missouri. C. L. Mowat and Alan Simpson of the University of Chicago are the joint secretaries. The next meeting of the Conference will be on November 1-2, 1958, at the University of Chicago.

LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

The Library of Congress has received the papers of George Fort Milton, editor, historian, and federal official, as a gift from Mrs. Milton. Dated from 1927 to 1945, but concentrated in the 1930's, the approximately 15,000 papers include an extensive correspondence concerned with Mr. Milton's research for his books on the Civil War era, exchanges with such historians and writers as Matthew Page Andrews, Julian P. Boyd, Raymond L. Buell, James G. Randall, and William Allen White, and correspondence on political and economic matters with William G. McAdoo, George Foster Peabody, and Cordell Hull. The papers also contain copies of lectures and manuscripts of Mr. Milton's books.

Donald R. Richberg has given the Library the first installment of his personal papers. The present gift consists of about 2,500 pieces, which reflect Mr. Richberg's success at the bar and his career in the federal service as general counsel to the National Recovery Administration, executive director of the National Emergency Council, and special assistant to the Attorney General, during President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration.

An important addition to the Library's holdings of manuscripts relating to the history of the Negro in America are the papers of Robert H. Terrell, teacher, lawyer, and jurist, which have been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Phyllis Terrell Langston. At the time of his death in 1925, Judge Terrell was the dean of the Municipal Court bench of the District of Columbia and had established the remarkable record of having been reversed in his decisions by the Court of Appeals only five times in twenty-three years. Of particular interest in the papers is correspondence in 1914, when Senator James K. Vardaman of Mississippi led protests against Judge Terrell's reappointment to the Municipal Court by Presi-

dent Wilson, and manuscript drafts of many of the Judge's lectures and pamphlets concerning the Negro.

Mrs. Richard A. Zwemer has delivered to the Library an organized collection of approximately 6,000 early records of the National Consumers' League. The papers, dating from 1899 to 1946, document the struggles of the League against sweatshops, child labor, excessive working hours, and under pay in American industry.

The University of California Library, Berkeley, and the Institute of Slavic Studies have received the collection of Slavic materials of Robert J. Kerner, who until his death in November, 1956, was Sather professor of history emeritus at the University of California. Presented by Mrs. Robert J. Kerner, his widow, the collection includes over 1,000 books, well over 1,000 periodicals, 200 brochures, and some 600 unbound titles in the field of Slavic affairs. The materials give particular attention to tsarist and Soviet Russian eastward expansion to the Pacific and provide a primary source dealing with the subject of Russian occupation of Alaska and settlement in California.

The Orin Grant Libby Manuscript Collection at the University of North Dakota has recently received the correspondence of John Morris Gillette (August 9, 1886–September 24, 1949), sometimes called the dean of rural sociology. He was president of the American Sociological Society in 1928. Also received were the records of the North Dakota Wheat Growers Association, a wheat pool operating from 1922 to 1931. The documents were presented by the association's secretary-treasurer, A. J. Scott.

A new compendium of the Columbia University Oral History Collection, which consists of the reminiscences of leading figures in many sectors of American life, has been issued as an aid to research scholars. The compendium offers brief descriptions of 195 manuscripts, about two thirds of which are now available to qualified researchers. It may be obtained from the Oral History Research Office, 103 Butler Library, Columbia University, New York 27, New York. The collection is particularly strong in the fields of national politics (especially the New Deal period), New York City politics, international relations, the labor movement, agricultural policy, book publishing, law, and social work.

A study of American library resources and needs in the field of Slavic and East European affairs has been begun by the Association of Research Libraries, in cooperation with the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council. The study will include an evaluation of existing resources, a review of the bibliographical and fiscal problems of procurement, and a survey of pertinent inter-library aids and services. It is hoped that findings and recommendations will be presented by

summer, 1958. Communications should be addressed to Mr. Melville J. Ruggles, Vice-President of the Council on Library Resources, P. O. Box 1703, Washington 13, D. C.

PUBLICATION NEWS

The Harvard history department, through Franklin L. Ford, chairman of its Publications Committee, has announced that book manuscripts to be considered in the department's annual competition will be accepted each year up to September 1 (closing date was previously April 1). Scholars who have manuscripts to be considered in the two departmental series, the Harvard Historical Studies and the Harvard Historical Monographs, should submit them to the Publications Committee, Holyoke 5, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

The American Council of Learned Societies has announced the establishment of a Committee on Scholarly Publication. Membership on the committee is apportioned equally among commercial publishers, university presses, and scholarly authors, and includes: Thomas Bledsoe (The Beacon Press); Erwin Goodenough (Yale University); Archibald A. Hill (University of Texas); William Jovanovich (Harcourt Brace and Company); Bernard Perry (Indiana University Press); Victor Reynolds (Cornell University Press); Roger Shugg (University of Chicago Press); Joseph R. Strayer (Princeton University); and Victor Weybright (New American Library). Frederick Burkhardt, president of the ACLS, is chairman.

Problems to be considered by the committee include the relation of publication to the career of the college or university teacher, the extent to which subventions to publishers are required and the availability of such subventions, manufacturing costs and new devices of manufacture, and the problems of distribution. A report is to be submitted by December, 1958.

The Syndics of Cambridge University Press have announced plans for publication of *The New Cambridge Modern History*, in fourteen volumes. This is not a revised form of the earlier work (1912) but an altogether new undertaking, the result of new knowledge of every country and period, presented by new methods. The plan and purpose remain essentially unchanged: to give intelligible form to the history of European civilization which, since the fifteenth century, has spread over most of the world. The first two volumes, I, *The Renaissance* and VII, *The Old Regime*, appeared in the fall of 1957. Sir George Clark, J. R. M. Butler, and J. P. T. Bury form the Advisory Committee for the *History*, and each volume is in the charge of a separate editor.

AWARDS AND GRANTS

The Social Science Research Council will offer travel grants to scholars residing in the United States, for attendance at selected international congresses and conferences to be held during the next three years, for the purpose of fostering the

exchange of information and ideas among social scientists of different nations. Lists of eligible congresses and conferences to be held before the end of the year 1960 will be announced in advance, and grants will be offered only for listed meetings. To be approved for inclusion in the program a meeting or conference must be sponsored by an international body, or by a national association in a foreign country with the participation of social scientists invited from several nations, and the place of meeting must be outside the United States, Canada, or Mexico.

In selecting recipients of travel grants the committee will seek persons who by their presence, participation, or organizing services, will make major contributions to the success of a conference; and scholars who by their attendance will gain ideas and contacts that will advance their own research. Special consideration will be given to younger social scientists and to those who have had relatively little opportunity to become acquainted with foreign colleagues. Applicants for grants should have the Ph. D. degree or equivalent qualifications, but need not be members of particular associations. The normal amount of each grant will be equivalent to the lowest round-trip tourist class or excursion airplane fare between the recipient's home and the place of meeting, applicable to the actual period of the conference. Grantees will be free to travel at any time and by any means, but any excess cost must be met from other sources. No allowance will be made for living expenses. Application forms will be supplied by the Council (230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York) on request.

The first annual Literary Award given by the Alabama Library Association for the best book of fiction or nonfiction about Alabama, went to Malcolm C. McMillan, research professor of history at Alabama Polytechnic Institute for his book, *Constitutional Development in Alabama: A Study in Politics, the Negro, and Sectionalism* (University of North Carolina Press, 1955).

Awards for study in statistics by persons whose primary field is not statistics but one of the physical, biological, or social sciences to which statistics can be applied are offered by the Department of Statistics of the University of Chicago. The awards range from \$3,600 to \$5,000 on the basis of an eleven-month residence. The closing date for application for the academic year 1958-1959 is February 15, 1958. Further information may be obtained from the Department of Statistics, Eckhart Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The American Numismatic Society's seventh, ten-week Summer Seminar in Numismatics will be held in 1958. The Society will again offer grants-in-aid to students who will have completed at least one year's graduate study in June, 1958, in archaeology, classics, economics, history, history of art, oriental languages, or other humanistic fields. The offer is restricted to students or junior instructors at universities in the United States and Canada. Further information and application forms may be obtained from the office of the Society, Broadway between

155th and 156th Streets, New York 32, New York. Completed applications for the grants must be filed by March 1, 1958.

PERSONAL

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES¹

University of Akron: Clara G. Roe promoted to professor; Henry S. Vyverberg appointed assistant professor. *University of Alabama*: Thomas B. Alexander appointed visiting associate professor; Gerald Strauss appointed assistant professor, and Wilburt S. Brown temporary instructor. *Alabama Polytechnic Institute*: Robert A. Naylor promoted to assistant professor; Edward Williamson, Richard W. Griffin, and Thomas A. Belser appointed assistant professors. *Bard College* (Annandale-on-Hudson, New York): Samuel D. Ehrenpreis appointed assistant professor. *Bennington College*: Robert V. Daniels appointed to the social science staff for 1957-58. *University of California* (Davis): Richard N. Schwab promoted to assistant professor. *Cambridge University* (England): M. I. Finley, of Rutgers University, elected a Fellow of Jesus College. *Carnegie Institute of Technology*: Robert Schwarz promoted to associate professor and George Mark Ellis to assistant professor; Edward V. Chmielewski, David N. Gidman, and Ludwig F. Schaefer appointed instructors. *Columbia University*: David H. Donald promoted to professor; Frederick D. Kershner, Jr., appointed associate professor at Teachers College. *Cornell College* (Mt. Vernon, Iowa): C. William Heywood promoted to associate professor.

Denison University: Morton B. Stratton named chairman of the department for three years; Robert Seager promoted to associate professor; William Preston and David Watson promoted to assistant professors. *Duke University*: E. Malcolm Carroll, who retired as chairman of the department, continues as James B. Duke Professor of History. *East Tennessee State College* (Johnson City): Frank B. Williams, Jr., promoted to professor; James E. Sutton promoted to associate professor, with a year's leave of absence to teach at Indiana University; Morton A. Brown and Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., appointed assistant professors. *Fenn College* (Cleveland, Ohio): Joseph W. Ink promoted to assistant professor. *University of Georgia*: Wilbur Devereux Jones and C. Jay Smith, Jr., promoted to associate professors; Lothar L. Tresp appointed assistant professor; Walter S. Hanchett appointed instructor; Horace Montgomery named director of the University Center in Georgia. *Harvard University*: Ralph W. Hidy, of New York University, appointed Isidor Strauss Professor of Business History. *University of Houston*: Edwin A. Miles, Stanley E. Siegel, and Richard D. Younger promoted to associate professors; Allen J. Going, of the University of Alabama, appointed associate professor. *Indiana University*: S. Y. Teng promoted to professor and

¹ The *Review* prints news of appointments, promotions, retirements, and leaves of absence. It does not print news of summer session appointments, completed temporary appointments, or honorary degrees and citations.

Piotr S. Wandycz to assistant professor; Warren H. Carroll and Jack M. Sosin appointed lecturers for 1957-58; Arthur R. Hogue on sabbatical leave for the second semester, 1957-58, for research in England; Robert E. Quirk on sabbatical leave for the second semester, 1957-58, for research in Mexico.

Institute for Advanced Study (Princeton, New Jersey): The following were named members of the Institute for 1957-58: Friedrich Baethgen, Munich; G. P. Chapman, London; David H. Donald, Columbia University; Friedrich K. Dörner, Münster; Colin T. Eisler, Yale University; Leo Eizenhofer, O.S.B., Heidelberg; Herbert Feis; Paul Frankl, Princeton University; Jean Gottman, Paris; Frederick G. Heymann, Fieldston School and New School for Social Research; P. P. Kahane, Jerusalem; Edward S. Kennedy, Beirut; S. J. Konefsky, Brooklyn College; Alexandre Koyré, Paris; Otto J. Maenchen, University of California, Berkeley; W. N. Medlicott, London; Otto Neugebauer, Brown University; Reinhold Niebuhr, Union Theological Seminary; Folke Nordstrom, Uppsala; Lionel Pearson, Stanford University; Robert A. Pratt, University of North Carolina; Derek J. Price, Cambridge, England; Gert von der Osten, Hanover, Germany; H. T. Wade-Gery, Oxford; C. Veronica Wedgwood, London; Don Marion Wolfe, Brooklyn College; and R. E. Wycherley, North Wales University College.

Johns Hopkins University: Richard H. Shryock to retire in June, 1958, as William H. Welch Professor of the History of Medicine and as director of the Institute of the History of Medicine. He has been appointed librarian of the American Philosophical Society and part-time professor at the University of Pennsylvania. *Keuka College* (Keuka Park, New York): Rosemary Husband, of St. Andrews University, Scotland, appointed visiting lecturer. *University of Maryland*: Earl S. Beard and Patrick W. Riddleberger promoted to assistant professors; Albert D. Mott and Helen A. Rivlin appointed assistant professors; Gerald G. Eggert, William F. McKee, and Kenneth B. O'Brien appointed instructors. *Michigan State University*: John A. Garraty promoted to professor; Charles R. Crowe, of College of William and Mary, appointed assistant professor, and George B. Baehr, Jr., of Notre Dame University, appointed instructor. *University of Minnesota*: Paul Murphy, of Ohio State University, appointed to the staff. *New York University*: A. William Salomone promoted to professor, Vincent P. Carosso to associate professor, Chester C. Tan to assistant professor, and Thomas P. Robinson to assistant professor and director of admissions; Bayrd Still named head of the newly created all-university history department; Frederick C. Schult appointed assistant to the dean of University College; Oscar J. Falnes named assistant chairman of the history department of Washington Square College.

University of North Carolina: James L. Godfrey appointed dean of the faculty; Cornelius O. Cathey and Frank W. Klingberg promoted to professors, and Elisha P. Douglass and George V. Taylor to associate professors; Clifford M. Foust, Jr., appointed assistant professor, Robin D. S. Higham and Richard B. Barlow instructors; James R. Caldwell promoted to associate professor in social science; Frank W. Ryan appointed assistant professor, and Otto Olsen lecturer in

social science. *University of North Carolina Woman's College* (Greensboro): Richard Bardolph promoted to professor. *University of North Dakota*: Robert P. Wilkins promoted to associate professor, and John L. Harnsberger to assistant professor. *Northwestern University*: Stuart W. Bruchey, of Dickinson College, appointed assistant professor; Raymond H. Robinson, of Northeastern University, appointed lecturer. *Ohio University* (Athens): Harry R. Stevens, of Duke University, appointed to the staff. *Ohio State University*: Harold J. Grimm, of Indiana University, named chairman of the department, succeeding Foster Rhea Dulles; Harvey Goldberg promoted to associate professor, and Paul Bamford to assistant professor; George E. Etue, Alan D. Harper, Edwin T. Layton, Lillian B. Silver, John G. Sperling, Rudolph J. Vecoli, Walter R. Weitzmann, and Edward F. Yurick appointed instructors. *Oklahoma Southwestern State College*: Hurshel Herbert Risinger appointed assistant professor. *University of Pennsylvania*: Jeanette P. Nichols appointed associate professor. *Pennsylvania State University*: Warren W. Hassler, Jr., and Clark C. Spence promoted to assistant professors; Harry Harootunian, of Oklahoma A & M, appointed instructor, and Richard B. Sherman temporary instructor. *Pratt Institute*: Ransom E. Noble named acting dean of the division of general studies; Roland Partridge promoted to professor.

Ripon College: John F. Glaser promoted to associate professor. *Rutgers University*: Sidney Ratner promoted to professor. *St. John's University* (Jamaica, New York): Repat Kovacs named chairman of the department of history and government; Gaetano L. Vincitorio promoted to professor; Richard Harmond appointed instructor. *San Jose State College*: Dudley T. Moorhead named dean of humanities and the arts; Mildred G. Winters promoted to associate professor, Irma E. Eichhorn, Harris I. Martin, and Donald E. Walters to assistant professors; Edgar Anderson, Nelson Klose, Lawrence B. Lee, Gladys H. Waldron, and Gerald E. Wheeler appointed assistant professors; Charles Burdick, N. Ray Gilmore, Carl E. Pohlhammer, and James E. Watson appointed instructors. *University of Santa Clara* (California): Joseph Brusher, of Loyola University, Los Angeles, appointed to the staff. *Sarah Lawrence College*: Dorothy Stimson, of Goucher College, named Whitney Visiting Professor. *Southwestern Louisiana Institute* (Lafayette): Paul K. Conkin, of Vanderbilt University, and Roy V. Scott, of the University of Illinois, appointed assistant professors.

Tennessee Wesleyan College (Athens): Albert Hall Bowman appointed professor. *University of Toledo*: Willard A. Smith promoted to professor, and Lloyd B. Lapp to associate professor; Arthur R. Steele, of the State University of New York College for Teachers, Buffalo, appointed instructor; Bruce Bugbee appointed lecturer; Cecil E. Cody on leave of absence for 1957-58 on a Fulbright fellowship for research and teaching in the Women's University of the Philippines. *Tulane University*: Charles P. Roland promoted to associate professor, and Charles T. Davis to assistant professor; Robert C. Reinders appointed assistant professor; F. Hugh Rankin and Henry A. Kmen appointed instructors. *Washington University* (St. Louis): Jack Hexter named chairman of the depart-

ment. *West Texas State College* (Canyon): L. F. Sheffy, head of the department, and Hattie M. Anderson have retired; Lowell H. Harrison named head of the department and promoted to professor; Mary Elizabeth Davidson, Robert Frank Heflin, and John K. Kahler appointed instructors; John S. Goff appointed instructor in history and government; Dan Selakovich appointed assistant professor of social studies. *West Virginia University*: Wesley M. Bagby and Mortimer Levine promoted to assistant professors. *University of Wichita*: Albert R. Parker promoted to associate professor; Eugene L. Asher and Thomas T. Hamilton appointed assistant professors. *University of Wisconsin*: George L. Mosse promoted to professor; Irving Wyllie, of University of Missouri, appointed associate professor; William A. Williams, of Oregon University, appointed assistant professor. *Youngstown University*: Alfred D. Low, of Marietta College, appointed associate professor.

RECENT DEATHS

Miss Alina M. Lindegren, one of the nation's authorities on European education systems and a member of the American Historical Association since 1924, died on January 24, 1957, six days before she was to retire from the United States Office of Education.

Francis Joseph Tschan, professor emeritus of European history at the Pennsylvania State University, died on July 24, 1957. Born January 1, 1881, in Waldkirch, Germany, he received his B.A. degree in 1901 and his M.A. degree in 1903 from Loyola University in Chicago. In 1916 he received the Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. Loyola University conferred on him the Doctor of Laws degree in 1933 and St. Vincent's College awarded him the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters in 1951.

After teaching at the University of Chicago, Yale University, and the Carnegie Institute of Technology, he joined the history staff of the Pennsylvania State University in 1925, and he taught medieval history there until his retirement in 1946. Widely known as an inspiring teacher, he was a member of the Mediaeval Academy, of the American Catholic Historical Society, of which he was president in 1930, and since 1911, of the American Historical Association. In addition to articles and lesser writings, he edited *Helmold's Chronicle of the Slavs* in the Records of Civilization series of Columbia University (1935). His later interest in the history of art is reflected in his three-volume work, *Bernward of Hildesheim*, which appeared between 1942 and 1952 as part of the Publications in Mediaeval Studies of the University of Notre Dame. At the time of his death he had completed the translating and editing of *Adam of Bremen's History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, to appear in the Records of Civilization series.

Ulric Bonnell Phillips, chief of the Torts Section in the Civil Division of the Department of Justice, died on July 31, 1957, at the age of forty-five. Born in Ann Arbor, Michigan, he received his A.B. from Yale in 1934 and an LL.B. from

Yale Law School in 1937. He went to Washington as an attorney with the National Labor Relations Board and in 1943 joined the Department of Justice. He was a life member of the American Historical Association.

Charles Henry Ambler, professor emeritus of history at West Virginia University, died after a long illness August 31, 1957, at Morgantown, West Virginia, at the age of eighty-one. Born in New Matamoras, Ohio, he received the A.B. and A.M. degrees from West Virginia University and the Ph.D. degree from the University of Wisconsin. He was professor of history at Randolph Macon College from 1908 to 1917, when he joined the faculty at West Virginia University. There he served as professor until 1947, and as head of the department of history from 1929 to 1946. He was a member of the American Historical Association and a number of other professional societies, including the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, of which he was president in 1942-1943.

He did intensive research in the regional history of the United States. His published works include *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (1910); *Thomas Ritchie, A Study in Virginia Politics* (1912); *The Life and Diary of John Floyd* (1918); *A History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley with Special Reference to Waterways* (1932); *A History of West Virginia* (1933); *George Washington and the West* (1936); *Francis H. Pierpont, Union War Governor of Virginia and Father of West Virginia* (1937); *A History of Education in West Virginia* (1951); and *Waitman Thomas Willey* (1954). He was also editor of the *John P. Branch Historical Papers of Randolph Macon College* (1908-1917); *Letters and Papers of R. M. T. Hunter* (1918); Anna Pierpont Siviter's *Recollections of Peace and War* (1938); and joint editor of the *Debates and Proceedings of the First Constitutional Convention of West Virginia* (1942). He inspired and initiated the program for the collection of historical source materials which led to the establishment of a manuscripts division in the West Virginia University Library in 1933.

Robert Glass Cleland, associated with Occidental College for over fifty years, died in Pasadena, California, on September 4, 1957, at the age of seventy-two. Born in Shelbyville, Kentucky, Cleland accompanied his parents to Southern California in the early 1890's. He graduated from Occidental in 1907, received his doctorate from Princeton in 1912, and was subsequently honored with an LL.D. degree from Coe College (1941) and a Litt.D. degree (1943) from Occidental. Cleland first joined the Occidental faculty in 1912 and for many years he was simultaneously Norman Bridge professor of history and dean of the faculty. He was for a time vice-president and also a trustee of the college. Upon his retirement in 1943 he joined the staff of the Huntington Library where he enjoyed ten fruitful years of writing and lecturing during which he administered, with Rockefeller Foundation support, a most effective program of research in American history, with emphasis upon the West and California.

Cleland, as much as any other scholar, gave shape and form to the history of

California and the growth of the American Southwest. A major portion of his research was concerned with California's emergence from a frontier wilderness into an agricultural and industrial empire. Among the dozen or more books which he wrote are: *A History of California, The American Period* (1922); *One Hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine* (1923); *The History of Occidental College* (1937); *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills, 1850-1870* (1941); *From Wilderness to Empire* (1944); *California Pageant* (1946); *California in Our Time* (1947); *A History of Phelps Dodge* (1952); *The Reckless Breed of Men: The Place Called Sespe* (1953); and with Juanita Brooks, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee* (1955).

Cleland was beloved by several generations of students who recognized in him an unusual combination of teacher, administrator, and writer. By example he encouraged numerous persons to enter fruitful professional careers. He also won for himself a sizable reading public, which was attracted by his vigorous and colorful literary style. Cleland's major purpose in both teaching and writing seemed to be, in his own words, to "light up the landscape of history."

Gaetano Salvemini died at Sorrento, on September 6, 1957. His death represents a loss not only to the Italian historical profession but to American scholarship as well. During his fifteen years in the United States as Lauro de Bosis Lecturer at Harvard (1933-1948), Salvemini was instrumental in establishing Italian history as a recognized university teaching field and in training a younger generation of American specialists on Italian questions. Born of poor parents at Molfetta, in Apulia, in 1873, Salvemini studied at the University of Florence, where he subsequently became professor of history. His early historical writings were in the "economic-juridical" tradition and showed marked traces of both positivist and Marxist influence. The variety of fields to which Salvemini addressed himself in this period is suggested by the titles of his three most influential works: *Magnati e popolani a Firenze dal 1280 al 1295* (1899), *La Rivoluzione francese* (1905, English translation, 1954), and *Mazzini* (1905, English translation, revised, 1957).

Salvemini turned increasingly to political and diplomatic subjects, a shift which reflected the excessively concrete and nominalist character of his thought, impatient of all varieties of historical abstraction, and his growing involvement in contemporary polemic. In his more than twenty years of exile from Italy, Salvemini became the most redoubtable of Mussolini's intellectual opponents. By applying the precise methods of historical scholarship to the newspapers and official publications of Fascist Italy, Salvemini undertook to expose the realities that underlay the propaganda of the regime. Such a work as *Under the Axe of Fascism* (1936) may still be read with profit for its acute analysis of economic policy and social tensions.

An uncompromising anticlerical, Salvemini brought under somewhat milder attack the government of Christian Democracy when he returned to Italy to re-

claim the chair at the University of Florence that he had been forced to resign in the mid-twenties. Before the First World War, he had similarly opposed the government of Giolitti, against which he had written his earliest influential polemic, *Il ministro della malavita*. It was against this background of opposition to three successive Italian regimes that Salvemini carried on his historical labors. In his mind, polemic and historical scholarship went hand in hand; to both of them he brought the same extraordinary qualities of courage, honesty, clarity, intellectual verve, and scrupulous attention to the accuracy of his account.

Victor J. Farrar, retired diplomatic historian in the Department of State, died at Kensington, Maryland, September 21, 1957. He was a graduate of the University of Wisconsin in 1911 where he also received his Ph.D. degree in 1927. He was research associate and instructor in history at the University of Washington 1914-1924 and also taught at Carroll and Sterling Colleges. From 1930 until his retirement in 1953 he compiled the American Republics sections of the Department of State's publication of diplomatic correspondence in *Foreign Relations of the United States*. He was the author of *The Purchase of Alaska* and *The Annexation of Russian America to the United States*, the latter based on researches in archives from the Russian Foreign Office.

Miss Anna M. Lingenhagen, Wellesley, Massachusetts, died on September 23, 1957. She had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1914.

William Marshall Bullitt, a member of the Association since 1915, died in Louisville, Kentucky, on October 3, 1957.

Editor's Note

Reviewers frequently (and rightly) complain that footnotes in books have become "backnotes." The practice of placing the notes or citations at the back of the book irritates scholars because it makes difficult and cumbersome the critical evaluation of sources. Scholars develop a twitch and should have a sixth finger as they check the notes—often the most fascinating part of the book for them. Yet continued reiteration of the scholar's view in our and other reviews has not reversed the trend. Against publishers' pleas for popular sale and for lower costs, authors might enter arguments for scholarly convenience and for scholarly practices. This editor will continue to put the article notes at the bottom of the page, and he hopes that publishers will again do so in their books. Repetition of the point in reviews in scholarly journals apparently does not help; author insistence expressed to publishers might.

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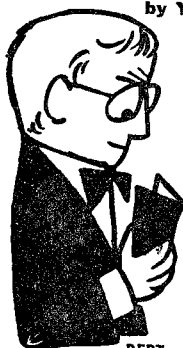
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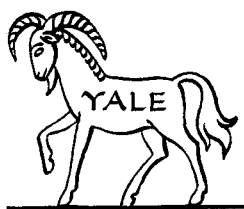
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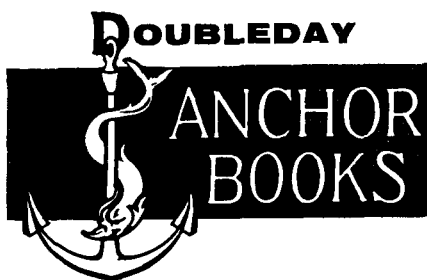
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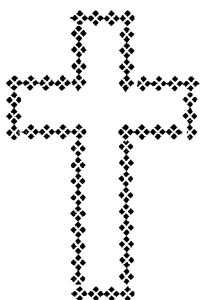
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